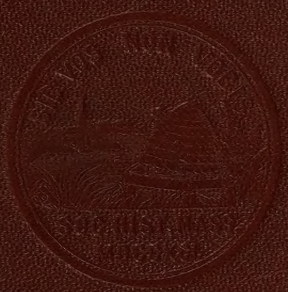

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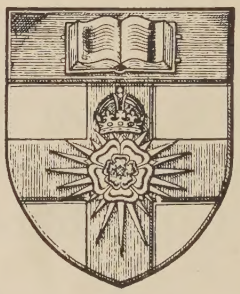

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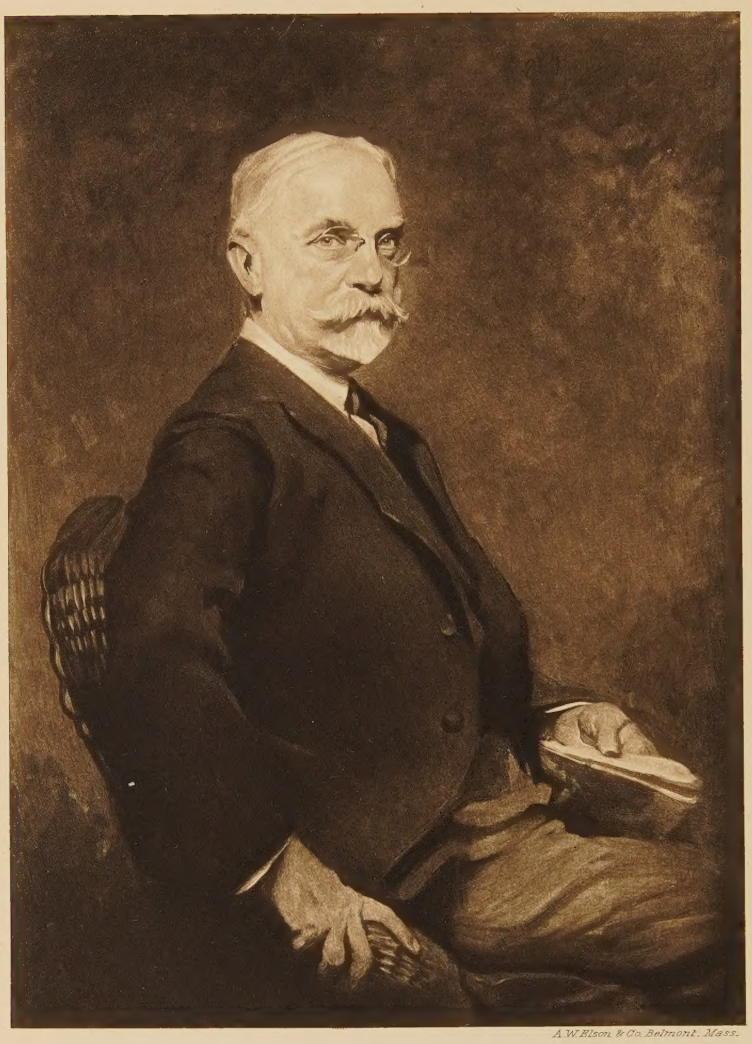

A.W. Elson & Co. Belmont, Mass.

Arthur Lord

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a painting by Herman Hanatscheck
at the Massachusetts Historical Society

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1927—JUNE, 1928

VOLUME LXI

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Fund

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MDCCCCXXVIII

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

October, 1927 — September, 1928.

Deaths.

Resident.

1899, Archibald Cary Coolidge . . . . . Jan. 14, 1928.
1910, John Collins Warren . . . . . Nov. 3, 1927.
1912, John Spencer Bassett . . . . . Jan. 27, 1928.
1913, Charles Grenfill Washburn . . . . . May 25, 1928.
1918, William Bradford Homer Dowse . . . . . April 19, 1928.
1918, Nathan Matthews . . . . . Dec. 11, 1927.
1927, John Warren . . . . . July 17, 1928.

Corresponding.

1922, Clarence Walworth Alvord . . . . . Jan. 24, 1928.
1911, William Milligan Sloane . . . . . Sept. 12, 1928.

Honorary.

1899, Sir George Otto Trevelyan[1] . . . . . Aug. 16, 1928.

[1] Elected Corresponding Member, Dec. 9, 1880

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1927.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 13, 1927, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair. The record of the June Meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Kinsley Post, through Charles L. Ridgway, a letter from General Murat to Bonaparte, February 21, 1800, with his reply written the next day.

From Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Quaker document signed William Leddra, and dated "From the Prison at Plymouth, July 19, 1659."

From Miss Mary Otis Porter, the journals of George S. Hillard, 1847, and 1848, while in England and Europe.

From Miss Clara B. Dobson, papers, 1676–1889, of her grandfather, the late Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, some Shattuck family papers.

From Charles Martyn, of New York, three papers from the estate of Gen. Artemas Ward.

From Miss Mary Patterson Lord, of Kennebunkport, Maine, printed and manuscript material.

By purchase, papers relating to lands in Maine, 1729–1762.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Rev. William G. Eliot, of Portland, Oregon, a photograph of the Mather House, Lowton, England, the birthplace of Rev. Richard Mather, taken about 1924 before it was demolished.

From Edwin D. Mead, eight photographs taken in Barton St. David, Somerset, England, the home of Henry Adams, ancestor of President John Adams; and a copy of the inscription on a tablet to his memory in the chancel of the old church.

From the estate of Miss Mary Wheelwright, a silver teapot which belonged to Gov. Thomas Hutchinson. It bears the hall mark, " R.R.," of Richard Rugg, of London, about 1754, and the names Thomas Hutchinson, Wm. Welstead Prout, Sarah Jenkins, Sarah Wheelwright.

From T. Julien Silsby, the badge worn at the Vermont Sesquicentennial, August 16, 1927, at the dedication of the Seth Warner marker by the Sons of the American Revolution.

From Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, of Ipswich, a daguerreotype of Mrs. Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord, and several engravings.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Thomas Frederick Tout, of London, England, accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The President announced the death of two Corresponding Members, John Bagnell Bury, of Cambridge, England, on June 1, 1927, and Sir William James Ashley, of Canterbury, England, on July 23, 1927; and of one Resident Member, Admiral Francis Tiffany Bowles, of Barnstable, on August 3, 1927.

Francis Tiffany Bowles

The President spoke of Admiral Bowles's connection with the Society, and called upon Mr. O'Brien, who said:

For only a short time were the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society privileged to number Francis Tiffany Bowles, affectionately known as " the Admiral," among their associates; but his intellectual activities along the lines for which this organization stands had long been conspicuous and varied. Though he did not reach old age, his life seemed so full, and so enriching to the community as to give the impression of that strength which usually suggests length of days.

Mr. Bowles belonged to the family long identified with the *Springfield Republican,* and under their direction one of the outstanding organs of liberal opinion on this continent. He was the grandson of the founder, commonly designated as the " first " Samuel Bowles, a nephew of the second, perhaps the more distinguished bearer of the name, and the son of Benjamin F. Bowles, who was long in charge of the business

and mechanical conduct of the establishment. The Admiral retained his financial interest in the *Republican* to the end, and was for many years one of its most serviceable directors. Not always agreeing with its policies, a loyalty to the ideals of journalism which had been part of the family tradition made him content to leave to the editorial management that freedom of opinion which remains essential to great results.

This journalistic background constantly cropped out in the life and activities of the Admiral. He was not merely a naval architect, great as were his attainments in this profession. He was public-spirited, full of opinions, teeming with originality and enterprise, and keenly conscious of his obligations to the larger statesmanship.

As a boy in the uniform of a naval cadet, he had gone to Washington to ask the Secretary of the Navy to send him to the British Naval Academy at Greenwich, there to receive the education of a naval architect. The request was granted. It established a precedent; it revolutionized American usage. Instead of buying plans for our ships from England, he was soon, as a naval constructor, to turn them out here, in improved and more ambitious designs. After the Spanish War, he resigned from the Navy to become head of the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, in our neighboring city of Quincy, where he exhibited those qualities of initiative and energy which had been outstanding in his public service.

Seeking more complete retirement, he eventually entered into a larger sphere of public-spirited relations. He headed the Nautical School of the Commonwealth, giving to its direction time and energy and thought which were invaluable. To him it owes in large degree its substantial accomplishment. He was an organizer of the Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce, long its president, and the man above all others who saw into the future of this quaint old corner of our land. He worked incessantly for the establishment of Buzzards Bay as a port of call for the New York steamers, for the enlargement of the Canal, and for the development of the industries of the section. He remained one of the closest students of our nation's naval policy, and, in advance of the so-called disarmament conference, outlined the scope its work should take.

He was an attractive public speaker, largely because he had

something to say whatever the occasion. No man in Boston in our generation has felt more keenly the responsibility of public improvement than he. His work against the bill-board nuisance had been aggressive and incessant. He kept up such activities in loyalty to the traditions of his household, on both his father's and his mother's side. An active and influential member of the Arlington Street Church (Unitarian) he helped to shape its policies. In politics, he exhibited the expected independence, and proved an example of the untrammeled voter. In conversation, the Admiral was genial, reflective, original, and possessed of a keen sense of humor. His untimely passing has everywhere occasioned deep regret.

Mr. Wolkins read a paper on "Henry Clay," written by our associate, Mr. Bradford.

Colonel Banks then read a paper on

Scotch Prisoners deported to New England by Cromwell, 1651–52

Prisoners from the Battle of Dunbar.

As an aftermath of the Civil War in England we are indebted to Cromwell for between three and four hundred Scottish prisoners of war, captured at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, whom he transported to New England to be sold as slaves. This fact has been generally known, but there has never been an account in detail of the transaction, as far as I am aware, and this short relation of the proceedings which brought it about is intended to place in chronological order the salient facts in the case, both from the English background and the local stage where the final scenes were enacted.

Having defeated the Royalists in England and beheaded the King in 1649, Cromwell proceeded to the conquest of Ireland, where his fanatical "croppies" spent the following summer in turning that country into a bloody shambles. Defended or defenceless towns were laid low and his butcheries spared neither the armed nor unarmed. The pious Puritan leader, feeling that he had wiped out the hated Catholics, for a generation at least, was aroused by a new challenge in his

ruthless progress. The Scottish Parliament had proclaimed the youthful Prince Charles, then a fugitive at the Hague, as their King. The proclamation was provisional, however, requiring him to subscribe to their Covenant, and accept Parliamentary direction in civil affairs, and look to the Presbyterian Assembly for advice in ecclesiastical matters. Embarrassing as were these terms, the Prince decided to comply with them, and this situation created a new menace to the Commonwealth and to Cromwell. With his veterans from Ireland as a nucleus the eager and insatiable " Noll " gathered an army of about sixteen thousand, of which a third were mounted troops. With these he invaded the last kingdom remaining loyal to the Stuarts, and reaching Edinburgh, after some skirmishing, he marched his army to Dunbar, a town on the east coast of Scotland, just south of the Firth of Forth. By this time his new levies were rapidly decreasing in numbers through disease and the fatigues of campaigning in forced marches. Supplies could only reach him at Dunbar by sea, as General David Leslie, in command of the Covenanters, had seized the passes which furnished the only retreat from Scotland to Durham and Berwick-on-Tweed. Leslie's troops outnumbered Cromwell's army, but they were undisciplined clansmen of the Highland chieftains, unused to war in its scientific aspect, and the Scottish General decided against giving battle in the open, hoping to starve out Cromwell, who was then hemmed in on the narrow peninsula of Dunbar.

Meanwhile the young Charles had arrived from Holland, and joined this motley military organization, to the great joy of the clansmen, and made himself popular by sharing their rough camp life and engaging in some of the daily skirmishes of the outposts. These " braw laddies " showed their preference for his leadership over the capped and gowned committee of argumentative Covenanters, who were busy purging the force of " unbelievers " until they had eliminated all, or most, of the trained soldiers. Then, satisfied that they had an army of approved saints, they demanded that the King retire from the front and leave the direction of the campaign to them. Leslie, wishing to take advantage of a favorable opportunity, proposed to attack Cromwell on Sunday, Sept. 1, 1650, but the Dominies would not permit him to break the

Sabbath even for this desirable purpose. Night and day these theological crusaders had been wrestling with the Lord and finally had a " revelation " in prayer that the Lord of Hosts would deliver Agag (Cromwell) into their hands. They ordered Leslie to attack on the morrow (Tuesday). Descending from the heights of Lammermoor, which overlooked the camp of Cromwell, he reached the Plain of Dunbar. Cromwell, observing the movement, did not need any " revelation " to tell him that the Lord of Hosts was about to deliver them into his hands. He had been waiting for that hour as his only salvation. He gave the command for an immediate attack in force, and though greatly inferior in numbers his disciplined troops soon showed their superiority over the untrained, but brave clansmen. Leslie's army was routed, and the cavalry of Cromwell pursued the disorganized Covenanters for eight miles with great slaughter. The chief, if not the only, resistance to his onslaught was made by a regiment of Highlanders, who fought with great desperation, as they had learned from his conquest of Ireland that Cromwell would put prisoners to the sword and thrust hot irons through women's breasts. Three thousand Scots fell in this disaster, fighting hopelessly to the last. Ten thousand were taken prisoners. About half of the latter were so exhausted by their flight and disabled by wounds that they were released. Cromwell wrote that he had lost only twenty men in this battle, and he had every reason to believe, as Joshua had believed in his battles with the Canaanites, that the Lord of Hosts had given him the victory. The battle cry of Leslie's troops was " The Covenant," while Cromwell's " croppies " shouted " The Lord of Hosts." The people of Scotland long remembered this debacle as " The Race of Dunbar."

The following letter, written on the day of the battle, to the Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England, presents a vivid sketch of it in a few words.[1]

Dunbar, Sep. 3, 1650.

Sir, — I intimated unto you before, that our drawing off from *Musselburgh* might tempt the Enemy to draw out, which accordingly they did; and the rather, for that they were informed, as some of

[1] *Parliamentary History of England,* xix. 341–2.

their Prisoners confess, we had shipped our Train of Artillery, which was a mistake of them, for it was the 600 sick Soldiers of the Flux that I had shipp'd that Morning; So they march'd after us, with Horse, Foot, and Train, within a Mile of *Dunbar,* where both Armies stood in Battalia all Night; only in the Morning, about Two o'Clock, we gave them a hot Alarm, and so got the Wind of them; and this Morning about twilight the General advanced with the Army, and charged them both in the Valley and on the Hill. The Battle was very fierce for the Time, one Part of their Battalia stood very stifly to it, but the rest was presently routed.

I never beheld a more terrible Charge of Foot than was given by our Army, our Foot alone making the *Scots* Foot give Ground for three Quarters of a Mile together. We have all their Guns, Train, Bag and Baggage, and beaten them clear out of the Field, Hills and Valleys; and our Army is now at the least eight Miles in Pursuit of their Horse, their Foot being taken wholly. It was a happy and seasonable Victory, and God appeared in Man's greatest Weakness, they came with Confidence that all was their own. They had possest the Pass at *Copperspath* to hinder our March to *Berwick,* thinking we would have run away.

I shall not descend to Particulars, till we have a particular Account of the Prisoners and Slain. Indeed, when our Hearts began to fail, then did the Lord begin to appear. Fourteen hundred sick Men have I in all sent to *Berwick* and *Newcastle,* and many hundreds are wonderful sick in the Army. Considering those who have died and otherwise left the Army, and the *Scots* doubling the Number, the more the Lord was seen in the Victory. They came full of Revenge in their Hearts to cut us off without Mercy; they having in the Evening before taken 40 of Colonel *Pride*'s Men, that went to possess a House, they cut them and mangled them in a most barbarous Manner after they had given them Quarter. You shall hear suddenly further from Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Rushworth.

The able-bodied prisoners, five thousand in number, were marched down to Durham and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Cathedral at Durham was converted into a prison and there these unfortunate Highlanders were destined to spend an indefinite period as captives of war. Their disposition was a problem both from a sanitary and political standpoint. This noble edifice was not constructed to house thousands of men

day and night and a decision had to be reached rapidly. The Council of War in London was discussing what disposition could be made of such prisoners as could be released without military disadvantage to the Commonwealth. Transportation of convicts beyond the sea was an accepted policy of long standing and the Colonies, especially Virginia and the West India islands had been used for this purpose in the past. Representations were made that the American Colonies were in need of laborers, and this seemed to be an excellent way of disposing of as many as these new plantations could assimilate, and it was seized on without much hesitation. On September 19, 1650, the Council sent an order to Sir Arthur Haselrigge, in charge of the prisoners, to deliver to Samuel Clarke, for transportation to Virginia, nine hundred of the Scotchmen and one hundred and fifty more for New England, the latter under the charge of Joshua Foote and John Becx of London, who were interested as managers of the iron works at Lynn. A month later Haselrigge was ordered to send twenty-three hundred of these men, Highlanders excepted, to the southern and western parts of Ireland for like disposition.[2]

Acknowledging these orders; Sir Arthur communicated to the Parliament a long account of the condition of the unfortunates: [3]

Newcastle, Oct. 31, 1650.

Gentlemen, — I received your Letter, dated the 26th of *October.* In that you desire me that 2300 of the *Scots* Prisoners, now at *Durham* or elsewhere, able and fit for Foot Service, be selected and marched thence to *Chester* and *Liverpool,* to be shipp'd for the South and West of *Ireland;* and that I should take special Care not to send any Highlanders: I am necessitated, upon the Receipt of this, to give you a full Account concerning the Prisoners.

After the Battle at *Dunbar,* in *Scotland,* my Lord-General wrote to me, that there were about 9000 Prisoners, and that of them he had set at Liberty all those that were wounded, and, as he thought, disabled for future Service; and their Number was, as Mr. *Downing* wrote, 5100. The rest the General sent to *Newcastle,*

[2] *Cal. State Papers,* Domestic, 1650; Orders in Council, 346. It was thought that the Highlanders, being ethnologically Gaelic, would not fight against their kin in Ireland.

[3] *Parliamentary History,* xix. 417–21. The *Dictionary of National Biography,* xxvi. 292, gives Hesilrige or Haselrig as proper forms of the name, but Haselrigge was the usual manner of spelling at the time.

conducted to *Berwick* by Major *Hopson,* and from *Berwick* to *Newcastle* by some Foot out of that Garrison, and a Troop of Horse.

When they came to *Morpeth,* the Prisoners being put into a large wall'd Garden, they eat up raw Cabbages, Leaves and Roots, so many, as the very Seed and Labour, at 4 *d* a day, was valued at 9 *l,* which Cabbage (they having fasted, as they themselves said, near eight Days) poison'd their Bodies; for as they were coming from thence to *Newcastle,* some died by the Way-Side; when they came to *Newcastle,* I put them into the greatest Church in the Town; and the next Morning when I sent them to *Durham,* about 140 were sick, and not able to march; three died that Night, and some fell down in their March from *Newcastle* to *Durham,* and died. I having sent my Lieutenant-Colonel and my Major with a strong Guard both of Horse and Foot, they being there told into the great Cathedral Church, were counted to no more than 3000; although Col. *Fenwick* wrote me, that there were about 3500: But I believe they were not told at *Berwick,* and as to most of those that were lost, it was in *Scotland;* for I heard that the Officers who march'd with them to *Berwick,* were necessitated to kill about 30, fearing the Loss of them all, for they fell down in great Numbers, and said they were not able to march, and they brought them far in the Night, so that doubtless many ran away.

When I sent them first to *Durham,* I wrote to the Mayor, and desired him to take Care that they wanted for nothing that was fit for Prisoners; and what he should disburse for them I would repay it. I also sent them a daily Supply of Bread from *Newcastle,* and an Allowance equal to what had been given to former Prisoners; but their Bodies being infected, the Flux increased among them. I sent many Officers to look to them, and ordered those who were sick to be removed out of the Cathedral Church into the Bishop's Castle, which belongs to Mrs. *Blackiston.* Cooks were provided, and they had Pottage made with Oatmeal, Beef and Cabbage, a full Quart at a Meal for every Prisoner: They had also Coals daily brought them, as many as made about 100 Fires both Night and Day, and Straw to lie upon. I appointed the Marshall to see all these Things orderly done, and he was allowed eight Men to help him to divide the Coals, Meat, Bread, and Pottage equally: They were so unruly, sluttish, and nasty, that it is not to be believed; they acted rather like beasts than Men; so that the Marshall was allowed 40 Men of the lustiest Prisoners to cleanse and sweep them every Day, who had some small Thing given them extraordinary. The above Provisions were for

those who were in Health; as to those that were sick, and in the Castle, they had very good Mutton Broth, and sometimes Veal Broth, and Beef and Mutton boiled together; and old Women appointed to look to them in the several Rooms: There were also a Physician to let them Blood, and dress such as were wounded, and give the Sick Physic; and I dare confidently say, there was never the like Care taken for any such Number of Prisoners in *England.*

Notwithstanding all this many of them died, and few of any other Disease than the Flux; some were kill'd by themselves, for they were exceedingly cruel one towards another. If any Man was perceived to have any Money, it was two to one but he was kill'd before Morning, and robb'd; and if any had good Cloaths, he that wanted, if he was able, would strangle the other and put on his Cloaths.

The Disease of the Flux still increasing among them, I was then forced, for their Preservation, if possible it might be, to send to all the next Towns in *Durham,* within four or five Miles, to command them to bring in their Milk, for that was conceived to be the best Remedy for stopping of their Flux; and I promised them what Rates they usually sold it for at the Markets, which was accordingly performed by about 60 Towns and Places. Twenty of the next towns to *Durham* continue to send daily in their Milk which is boiled, some with Water, some with Bean Flower, the Physicians holding it exceeding good for the Recovery of their Health.

Gentlemen, you cannot but think strange of this long Preamble; and wonder what the Matter will be. In short it is this; out of the 3000 Prisoners that my Officers told into the Cathedral Church at *Durham,* 300 of them, and 50 from *Newcastle* of the 140 left behind, were delivered to Major *Clarke,* by Order of the Council; there are about 500 Sick in the Castle, and about 600 yet in Health in the Cathedral, the most of which are, in all probability, Highlanders, they being hardier than the rest; and we have no other Means to distinguish them. About 1600 are dead and buried, and about 60 Officers are at the Marshal's in *Newcastle.*

My Lord-General having released the rest of the Officers, and the Council having given me Power to take what Men I thought fit, I have granted to several well-affected Persons that have Salt-Works at *Shields,* and want servants, 40; they have engaged to keep them at Work at their Salt-Pans, and I have taken out about 12 more, Weavers, to begin a trade of Linen Cloth, like the *Scots* Cloth, and about 40 Labourers.

I can not give you, on a sudden, a more exact Account of the

Prisoners, neither can any Account hold true long, because they still die daily, and doubtless so they will, so long as any remain in Prison. And for those that are well, if Major *Clarke* could have believed that they had been able to have marched on Foot, he would have marched them by Land; but we perceive that divers that are seemingly healthy, and have not at all been sick, suddenly die; and we cannot give any Reason for it, only we apprehend they are all infected; and that the strength of some holds out till it reaches their very Hearts.

Now you fully understand the Condition and Number of the Prisoners. What you please to direct I shall observe, and intend not to proceed further upon this Letter, until I have your Answer upon what I have now written. I am, Your most Affectionate Servant,

Ar. Haselrigge.

Comment on this letter seems superfluous, except to note the death of sixteen hundred men, taken prisoners in a fanatical religious war, within a period of fifty-eight days, nearly thirty a day. These were men picked by Cromwell as sound and able to travel. In order to relieve this terrible situation it became necessary to send out on parole as many as were able and useful to work in the local industries and on the farms. It is a revolting picture of savage cruelty, supplemented by ignorance of elementary hygiene. For the latter the authorities of the Commonwealth can plead an excuse, as sanitary rules were unknown at that time, or if known were not applied.

Three days after the receipt of this letter the Council ordered Sir Arthur Haselrigge "to deliver 150 Scotch prisoners to Augustine Walker, master of the *Unity* to be transported to New England." This vessel was probably built in Boston by Benjamin Gillam the shipwright, as in 1646 he sold a quarter of the ship of that name to John Leverett. Her master at that time was resident of Charlestown, Mass., having settled there about 1640, coming to New England from Berwick-on-Tweed. He was admitted to the church in Charlestown in October of that year.[4] His appearance in the Thames when these events were occurring was merely accidental, as he made frequent voyages to England.

[4] Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, II. 990.

The prisoners destined for transportation to the overseas possessions were sent by water to London, and Becx in behalf of the iron works specified that those assigned to him should be "well and sound and free from wounds." After the decision to transport these prisoners, the Council began to doubt the advisability of it from a military standpoint, fearing their influence might react in a hostile manner upon the residents of the Colonies, and passed an order in Council, October 23, 1650: "The Admiralty Committee to examine whether the Scotch prisoners now come and coming into the river are carried to places where they may be made use of against the commonwealth, and stay to be made of all, until assurance be given of their not being carried where they may be dangerous; the proportion for New England to be shipped away forthwith as their ship is ready and the place is without danger.[5] Haselrigge had been cautioned in his orders for transportation to arrange with "any who will carry them to plantations not in enmity with the commonwealth." There was no reason to doubt that New England was more than friendly to it.

Even then the misfortunes of the prisoners followed them relentlessly. On November 7 Council ordered Major Clarke to "Have a copy of the information given in concerning the ill-usage of the Scotch prisoners now on board a ship, on his own and others account, and to give in their answers tomorrow."[6] This undoubtedly related to those embarked on the *Unity* waiting sailing orders which came in a few days, probably precipitated by this investigation. His order to sail was dated November 11, and it is presumed that he weighed anchor immediately.[7] With this human cargo numbering one hundred and fifty souls, sixty of whom were destined for the Saugus iron bogs, the *Unity* buffeted the tempes-

[5] *Cal. State Papers,* Domestic, 1650, 397.

[6] *Ib.,* 421.

[7] The chronology of these orders raises an interesting question. On September 19, Haselrigge was ordered to deliver one hundred and fifty prisoners to Samuel Clarke for New England; on October 23, a month later, a contingent "for New England" was in the Thames waiting orders for sailing thither; on November 11, Captain Walker received his orders to sail with his lot. The question is whether those to be delivered to Clarke were to be sent in the *Unity* with Walker? If the latter took a second lot it is possible to place other Scotchmen in New England not otherwise identified.

tuous, wintry seas of the Atlantic, and as it usually took six weeks to cross in favorable seasons she could not have made Boston harbor before the end of December. No list of these prisoners exists, but it is possible to give them a tentative identification, from the earlier termination of their terms of servitude, and the absence of their names from the known list of those who came the following year, to which reference will be made shortly. They suffered from scurvy on the voyage, but how many died is not known. The prisoners remaining, after the sixty sent to Lynn, were sold to purchasers, willing to pay the price, and were then distributed to numerous towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine. The prevailing quotation was between twenty and thirty pounds for each man, which was received as payment for their transportation. As the cost of an Atlantic passage at that time was about five pounds it will be seen that the *Unity* cleared about £1500 on this transaction for her owners. An example of this bargain and sale of these prisoners is furnished in the experience of one of the Dunbar captives. In a petition to Governor Andros, dated September 19, 1688, John Stewart makes the following statement: [8]

> . . . your poor petitioner was in service in five battles under the noble Marquis of Montrose, in Scotland, for His Majesty, King Charles the First, and thereby suffered and received many dangerous wounds, having escaped with his life through mercy . . . Was afterwards taken by Lord Cromwell in the fight at Dunbar, and after sent into this land where I was sold for eight years service to purchase my future freedom. . . .

He worked for a while in the Lynn iron works and there he was purchased by John Pynchon, leader in the settlement of Springfield. Pynchon made the following agreement with him:

> I agree with John Stewart to allow me yearly 12 shillings in Smithery work for 3 years, which is for my staying so long for that 30 pounds which is due to me from him for releasing him from my service. And he the said John Stewart consented and promised to allow me for three years twelve shillings per year in mending or making of Iron work.

[8] Burt, *First Century of Springfield*, I, 64.

This John Stewart died April 21, 1691, leaving no family, so far as is known.

Legal evidence of a like character is available to show that one Thomas Holme or Hume was sold to Henry Sayward of York for thirty Pounds.[9] The story of those consigned to the Lynn iron works may be read in the Essex Court Records in connection with the long litigation attendant upon the financial troubles of the company. Its managers and principal owners were London merchants, and Joshua Foote, an ironmonger of that city, was prominent in its management here, as he came to Boston in that capacity. It is quite possible that being in London at the time he was instrumental in getting these prisoners for his works.

As far as known this was the first experience of New England people in this kind of human traffic, and it is apparent that Rev. John Cotton felt the need of making some explanation, a sort of plea in abeyance, for the share in the affair which some of his friends promoted. In a letter to Cromwell dated July 28, 1651, he describes this camouflaged peonage, though why he should suppose that Oliver had any qualms about it is a puzzle. He wrote: [10]

> The Scots, whom God delivered into your hand at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, assoone as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty.

John Gifford succeeded Foote in the management of the iron works, and in 1653 he was required to account for the property received by him, and among the items is this reference to these prisoners: [11]

[9] York County Court Records, July 2, 1672.
[10] Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers,* Boston, 1769, 235.
[11] Suffolk Court Files, No. 225.

For 62 Scotts dd and 35 only left on the works, 17 to Awbrey, 3 to commissioners; 2 sold and rest we desire to whom disposed of, which is 5 at 20 pounds £100:0:0.

Further documents in the litigation show that "a house had been built for the Scots" at Lynn and that "old Tingle" (perhaps William Tingley), the collier, had hired four of the prisoners for three years' service, while Thomas Look, Thomas Wiggins and Richard Hood had each bought the time of a Scotchman for three years. John Stewart, who had been sold to Pynchon was in Gifford's own personal service in his house. Evidence in the litigation shows that these servants did farm work and lived at the "Scotchmen's House," while others did a variety of general labor. The seventeen prisoners turned over to William Aubrey were for service in the Boston warehouse of the Company, of which he had charge. In the progress of various suits five of the prisoners testified concerning the management of the Company's business, viz: John Clarke, John Toish, James Danielson, George Thompson and Robert MacIntire.[12]

Names of the Scotchmen remaining at the works in Lynn have been preserved and are here listed alphabetically for convenience of reference: [13]

Adams, James
Archbell, John
Banke, John
Braband, Alexander
Burgess, Alexander
Clarke, John
Danielson, James
Darling, George
Downing, Micam
Dugle, Alexander
Dunsmore, James
Eaton, Alexander
Ennis, Alexander
Gourdan, James
Grant, Peter
Gualter, Thomas
Grimes, Alexander
Jempson, Andrew
Jourdan, William
Kelton, Thomas
Luddle, James
Mason, John
Mackall, James
MacMallen, John
Mackshane, John
Mackwater, William
MacCallum, Micam
Meeme, Richard
Moody, Engram
Pardee, John
Rupton, John
Steward, John
Thomson, George
Thomson, James
Taylor, James
Toish, John
Tower, Thomas

It is necessary to caution the reader as to the spelling of these names for reasons which will be explained later.

[12] *Essex Antiquarian*, XII. 69, 70.

[13] Suffolk Court Files, No. 1226. Mass. Archives, LXIX. 49, has thirty-five names, without Eaton and MacMallen.

An interesting fact in connection with the deportation of these Scots is found in Berwick, formerly a part of Kittery, Maine, where a parish was called Unity Parish, doubtless from the prisoners, who were sent there to work in the saw-mills at that place, having come to New England in the ship of that name. These mills were under the management of Richard Leader, who had been employed in a similar capacity at the Lynn iron works. He left there in 1652 to take charge of the mills on the Asbenbedick, now Great Works, River in which Becx and Co. of London had an interest. As a consequence it is now possible to account for about fifteen Scotchmen who appeared there about that time. Leader left there in 1656 for Barbadoes, having become involved in the political warfare of that era between Massachusetts and Maine authorities relating to the usurpation of the Gorges government by the Massachusetts officials. Whether his departure released these men is not clear, but it is of record that grants of land were made to some of them in 1656, indicating that they had been released. Among those believed to be part of the Dunbar prisoners, settling in the upper part of Kittery, now Berwick, are the following: —

Agnew, Niven	Gray, George	Neal, John
Barry, James	Gowen, William	Ross, John
Cooper, Alexander	Hamilton, David	Taylor, John
Furbush, William	Holme, Thomas	Thomson, William
Ferguson, Daniel	Key, John	Warren, James
Grant, Peter	Maxwell, Alexander	

Thus far it is reasonably sure that these men were from the Battle of Dunbar. A few years later another lot appeared in the adjoining town of York, the first of whom was Alexander Maxwell, above named, who had been in service to George Leader, brother of Richard. The place where they settled and were given house-lots was called " Scotland," a name it retains to this day. In this number were, John Carmichael, James Grant called " the Scot," and perhaps one of the same name called " the Drummer," James Jackson, Robert Junkins, Micum MacIntire, Alexander MacNair and Andrew Rankin. Most of these had been bought by their masters in Dover and Exeter, New Hampshire, and came to York when their time had expired.

Prisoners from the Battle of Worcester.

After the Battle of Dunbar there was a year of military jockeying for position, with Charles II avoiding a battle, and gradually marching southward towards London, hoping to find sympathizers and to reinforce his army. The Earl of Derby raised a regiment in Lancashire which tried to stem the tide, but it met defeat at Wigan in that County, and with a handful left he joined his Sovereign's forces just before the next disaster.

A year to a day after the "Race of Dunbar," the young King and his partisans decided to try conclusions once more with their Nemesis and elected to cross swords with Cromwell at Worcester. The same result ensued. Cromwell described it as "the crowning mercy of the Lord," as nightfall found the enemy in flight and Charles a fugitive, in disguise, and later forced to hide in an oak tree to escape capture. In his retreat through Gloucestershire, in the disguise of a cook, in peasant's clothing, he was afforded shelter by John Tomes, a brother-in-law of Governor Thomas Welles of Hartford, Connecticut.

More prisoners were at hand for Cromwell to transport to the Colonies. Within two days of the battle the Council at London ordered that all the officers taken with the Earl of Derby and every tenth private soldier should be put on trial for rebellion. This naturally meant that every officer and every tenth soldier would pay the supreme penalty. There is a tradition among the descendants of one of these prisoners that when drawn in line for picking out every tenth soldier he counted down the rows and found that he would probably be one of those selected for the sacrifice. Breaking rank he took the desperate chance of escape or being shot. A mounted officer pursued and wounded him and his life was thus spared. Further consideration was given to the disposition of these captives and they were finally brought to London under convoy and herded at the Artillery Grounds, Tothill Field, about half a mile west of Parliament House. On September 16 it was proposed that a thousand of these prisoners be sent to Bristol for shipment to New England, but there is

no record that this was done. Such Scotch ministers as were prisoners were to be exported, one to every two hundred men, but these clergymen were to be free from compulsory service. As a result of various proposals, an unknown number, perhaps three hundred of the Scotch prisoners captured at the Battle of Worcester then encamped at Tothill Field, were selected for transportation to New England. Becx of the iron works was again interested in this transaction and the ship *John and Sarah* was chartered to bring them to Boston.[14] The master of this ship was John Green of Charlestown and they were consigned to Thomas Kemble, also of Charlestown, a merchant who owned lands in Maine, was a dealer in lumber and interested in sawmills at Durham and Newmarket, New Hampshire. The identity of this ship, probably a New England vessel, is not certain. A ship of this name, of the burthen of thirty-nine tons, was sold here in 1648 to Robert Allen of Norwich, co. Norfolk, and Nicholas Davison of London, but it is impossible to think of this small craft as the one which brought the prisoners over, although Davison was a resident of Charlestown at one time and had intimate business connections with New England.[15]

All arrangements having been made, the consignors, Becx, Rich and Greene gave the following instructions to the master of the transport.

London, this 11th: of Nouember 1651

Capt. Jno. Greene — Wee whose names are vnder written freighters of your shipe the John & Sara doe Order you forthwith as winde & weather shall permit to sett sajle for Boston in New:England & there deliver our Orders and Servants to Tho: Kemble of charles Towne to be disposed of by him according to orders wee have sent him in that behalfe & wee desire yow to advise with the sajd Kemble about all that may conserne that whole Intended vojage using your Indeavors with the sajd Kemble for the speediest lading your shipp from New: Eng:to the barbadoes with provisions and such other things as are in N. E. fitt for the west Indies where yow are to deliver them to mr. Charles Rich to be disposed of by him for the Joinct accont of the freighters & so to be Retourned home in a stocke undivided thus desiring your care &

[14] *Cal. State Papers,* Domestic, 410, 417, 418, 421, 431, 447.
[15] *Boston Records,* xxxii. *Aspinwall Notarial Record,* 142.

industrje in dispatch and speed of the vojage wishing yow a happy & safe Retourne wee Remajne your loving friends.

JOHN BECX
ROBT RICH
WILL GREENE.

Signatum et Recognitum
in pncia: Jo: NOTTOCK notar Publ:
13 May, 1652

Captain Greene probably left the Downes December 8 and with the usual lapse of time necessary to make the voyage in the months of November and December arrived in Boston, certainly before February 24 of that year. He landed two hundred and seventy-two of those taken on board at London, and it cannot be supposed that there were no deaths on the voyage. The usual toll of scurvy must have taken at least ten per cent of the total number.

For some reason not apparent all the documents in this transaction, together with a list of names of these prisoners, were recorded in the Suffolk Deeds, possibly for permanent record in case of litigation. While this is fortunate for historical purposes, yet this list is not to be accepted as a true record of their correct names. It offers to the student in philology many puzzles left by the scribe in his attempts to spell out clan names of Gaelic origin, spoken in a dialect that defied reproduction in English. Most of these Scotchmen were unable to write, knew little English and as a result their names have undergone curious transformations. The prefix " Mac " was frequently dropped and the remaining part of a name was Anglicized in a convenient phonetic substitute. MacLothlan became Claflin; Maggafasset is Fassett; MacGowen is Magoon; Saint Clair is Sinkler; Farrabas is Forbes; Graham is Grimes; Montrose is Munroe, and other like decapitations and alterations illustrate the manhandling which these historic names of Highland clansmen suffered in the offices of town clerks. Few would suspect that a family bearing the cognomen of Tosh living on Block Island were once possessors of the fine old Highland name of MacIntosh. The typical Highland prenomen — Angus — was written Anguish, which might be considered a true description of the mental state of the clerk after struggling with the rolling b-r-r-r of

these clansmen. Here follows the official statement of the names of these Scotchmen.[16]

A list of the passengers aboard the John and Sarah *of London John Greene m[aste]r bound for new England.*

Anderson, Alester
Anderson, David
Anderson, John
Anderson, William

Banes [*Bayne*], William
Beames, William
Benne [*Bene* or *Benny*], James
Benne, John
Bereere, Thomas
Blacke, Daniel
Boye, John
Boye, John
Boye, Robert
Broun, John
Brounell, Henry
Buckanon, David
Buckanon [*Buchanan*], John

Camell [*Campbell*], James
Camell, John
Camell, Neile
Carmuckhell [*Carmichael*], John
Curmuckhell, William
Carter, Neile
Clewston, William
Coehon [*Colquhoon*], John
Cowe, Alester
Crag [*Craig*], John
Cragon [*Craigen*], John
Crockford, James
Croome, John
Crosshone, Patrick

Deugle [*Dougell*], Edward
Deugell, William
Dell, William
Dulen, Edward

Edminsheire, John
English, James
English, Patrick

Farfarson, James
Fossem, Michael
Fressell, Edward
Fressell, William

Gorden, Daniel
Gorden, James
Gurden, John
Gordon, Laughleth
Graunt, Alester
Graunt, Alexander
Graunt, Daniel
Graunt, James
Graunt, James
Graunt, James
Graunt, John
Graunt, John
Graunt, John
Graunt, Patrick
Graunt, Thomas
Graunt, William
Gunn, Daniel
Gurner, James

Hagoman, John
Hamilton, David
Hamilton, James
Hamilton, Rory
Hedricke, James
Hidrecke, William
Herron, Patrick

[16] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, I. 378; *Suffolk Deeds*, I. 5–6. The names are here arranged in alphabetical order for greater convenience, as near as can be accomplished with the crude attempts of the clerk to spell the Scotch surnames.

HIGHEN, ROBERT
HOGG, JOHN
HOGG, JOHN
HOGG, JOHN
HOGG, DANIEL
HOGG, NEILE
HOW, DANIEL
HUDSON, DANIEL
HUDSON, JOHN
HUME [*Home*], ALESTER
HUME, DAVID
HUME, DAVID

JACKSON, JAMES
JACKSON, PATRICK
JACKSON, RICHARD
JACKSON, WALTER
JAMESON, DAVID
JAMESON, NEILE
JIMSON, PATRICK
JOHNSON, NEILE
JONES, PATRICK

KALLENDRA [*Callender*], ALESTER
KALLENDER, DAVID
KALLENDER, JAMES
KEMPER, DANIEL

LESTEN, CHARLES

MACK, HENRY
MACKURNELL [*MacConnell*], CANA
MACKANNELL, DANIEL
MACKENNELL, DANIEL
MACKUNNELL, SANDER
MACKANNELL, WILLIAM
MACKUNNELL, (*torn*)
MACKALINSTEN [*MacAllister*], ALINSTER
MAKALESTER, DANIEL
MACKALESTER, JOHN
MACKAINE [*MacKean*], DANIEL
MACKHAN, DANIEL
MACKAINE, DANIEL
MACKHENE, ALESTER
MACKANE, JOHN
MACKANE, JOHN
MACKAINE, NEILE
MACKANE, NEILE
MACKANE, PATRICK
MACHAME, ROBERT
MACKAINE, ROBERT
MACKAINE, SAMUEL
MACKAINE, WILLIAM
MACKAINE, WILLIAM
MACKANDRA [*MacAndrew*], WILLIAM
MACKALLY [*MacCullar*], JAMES
MACKCRETH, PATRICK
MACKREITH, JAMES
MACKDOELL [*MacDowell*], SANDER
MACKEY [*MacKay*], HUGH
MACKEY, HILL [*Neile*]
MACKEY, JOHN
MACHY, RORY
MACKEY, SANDER
MACKEN, WILLIAM
MACKENTHOW, JOHN
MACKENDOCKE [*MacIntosh*], DANIEL
MACKONTOSS, WILLIAM
MACKETH, DAVID
MACKETH, NEILE
MACKFORSON [*MacPherson*], JOHN
MACKFARSON, ORIGLAIS (?)
MACKFARSON, (*torn*)
MACKFARSON, ROBERT
MACKHATHERNE, PATRICK
MACKHELLIN, DANIEL
MACKHELLIN, JOHN
MACKHELE, ALESTER
MACKHELL, JAMES
MICKELL, JAMES
MACKHOE [*MacKee?*], DANIEL
MACKHOME, DAVID
MACKHOLME, JOHN
MACKONE, NEILE
MACKLUDE, [*MacLeod*], JOHN
MACKILUDE, MURTLE
MACKLYNE, (*torn*)
MACKNESTER, ALLESTER
MACKNITH, DANIEL
MACKNITH, DANIEL

Macknith, Patrick
Mackrore [*MacCreary?*], Alester
Macktentha, Cana
Macktenneth, Sennel
Macktomas, Glester [*Alester*]
Mackwilliam, Gellust
Man, Daniel
Mann, John
Mann, Patrick
Martin, Daniel
Michell, James
Micknab [*MacNabb*], James
Miller, Sander
Milleson, Sander
Milward, David
Milward, James
Monlow [*Monroe?*], Daniel
Monrow, Hugh
Monrow, (*torn*)
Munrow, John
Montrose, Laughlell
Monwilliam, Daniel
Monwilliam, David
Morcot, Sannder
More, (*torn*)
Moore, James
Morre, John
Morre, John
Morton, Patrick
Munckrell, William
Murrow, James
Murrow, John
Murrow, John
Murrow, Jonas
Murrow, Neile
Muckstore, Neile

Oneale, Daniel

Patterson, David
Pattison, James
Perry, George
Punn, Edward, (?)

Querne [*Queen, MacQueen*], Amos
Quenne, George

Robinson, Alester
Robinson, Charles
Robinson, Daniel
Robinson, James
Robinson, John
Robinson, John
Robertson, Patrick
Ross, Alester
Ross, Daniel
Ross, David
Ross, James
Ross, James
Rosse, John
Rosse, John
Rosse, John
Ross, Jonas
Row, James
Roye, Donald
Russell, Simon

Scott, John
Sessor, Daniel
Sheron, Ansell
Shurron, Daniel
Shiva (*torn*), Samuel
Shone, James
Shume [*Hume?*], John
Simson, Alester
Simson, Daniel
Simson, Daniel
Simson, David
Simson, Patrick
Simson, Sander
Sinclare, Salaman
Smith, Henry
Sotherland, Ansell
Sotherland, Patrick
Sterling, David
Sterling, John
Stewart, Austin
Stewart, Charles
Stewart, Neile
Stewart, Robert
Stewart, William

Tanniell, John
Teller, David
Teller, William

Tenler, David	Wilson, John
Tenler, John	Wilson, John
Tenler, Robert	Woodall, John
Terris, Andrew	Woodell, John
Tiler, Evan	(*torn*) Daniel
Thompson, Alexander	(*torn*) Patrick
Tooth [*Touch?*], Alester	(*torn*) Patrick
Tower, Patrick	(*torn*) . . .
	(*torn*) . . .
Wallis, Nicholas	(*torn*) Alester
Wilson, Andrew	(*torn*) . . .
Wilson, Christopher	

The persons afore named past from hence in the ship afore mentioned and are according to order Registered heare. dat. Search office, Gravesend 8th November 1651.

Giles Barrow
Edward Pelling } *Searchers*
John Morris

This list contains 261 names, but Becx in a subsequent letter said that Capt. Greene "had with him 240 Scotts." The additional number may have been embarked at the last moment before sailing.[17]

Evidently the prisoners were marched from Boston to Lynn and the trip took two days. William Edmonds was paid for "dyett for the Scotts by the waye from Boston to the workes." Apparently a physician accompanied the caravan who attended the sick. That his ministrations were unsuccessful in one case is shown by a charge for "a windeing sheet for Davison the Scott," who dropped by the wayside.

Items of human interest in their disposal after arrival include a charge of £35 for "Framing the Scotts house," the purchase of 65 pair of shoes @ 5 *s* a pair, 92 pairs of stockings, 72 shirts, 92 "skines for makeing the cloathes, Hatts and Bands," while William Emmory and James Mackall got "two Stuffe Suites." Goody Burt of Lynn was paid for "phisicke" for these who were ill. Two hundred pounds of tobacco were bought for them, costing £13: 17: 04, and we may credit this "good deed in a naughty world" to the managers of the works.

[17] Accounts of Lynn Iron Works, fol. 39. Baker Library, Harvard University.

Various items under the head of diet show that in changing numbers, from sixty-one men to twenty-eight, the charge for the larger quota per week was £18: 06: 00. The diet of twenty-eight men from December 16, 1651, to August 3, 1652, being thirty-two weeks, was £268: 16: 00. In the inventory of 1653 the manager reported thirty-seven "Scotts at 20 pound per man" and that they must have slept three in a bed, as they had only "11 beds and bolsters with 22 Coverletts and blanckets among the Scotts."

The London proprietors were watchful of the costs of the commissary for these prisoners. In a letter of Becx to the manager he said on this point:

> We wrott you that we desired the Scotts should be dietted by some ther in the Country by those that would have (supplied the) best and cheapest and not to have it done by you at such a high Rate the Company not being willing to allow above 3 *s* 6 *d* per week and you being 5 *s*.[18]

And again Becx showed his anxiety for the sale of these "Scotts" so that the Company might realize on the venture:

> moreover we sent you after yor 4 Monethes Arivall thes 82 Scotts which if they had beene sold for the Companys use one halfe of them would have procured you above [£]600 for 30 of them and then you should have as yett 30 more Remaineing at the Works to have don your business compleat that you would not have wants comen [coming], hands nor stocke.[19]

This second consignment of human freight found a wider distribution among the towns of Massachusetts and the adjacent provinces, as the story of the first consignment had whetted the envy of those who had failed to procure cheap labor from this new kind of auction block. It had the sanction of John Cotton and that was enough to deaden the New England conscience. They were sold, as before, to planters and mill-owners throughout the Colonies in this section. The usual terms prevailed as to price and length of service. Based on the experience of the *Unity*, these two hundred and seventy-two prisoners must have netted the owners of the *John and Sarah* about £4,000, a tidy sum in those days and representing about $30,000 in present values. More of these pris-

[18] *Ib.*, fol. 42. [19] *Ib.*, fol. 43.

oners were sent to the southern Colonies and to the West India Islands than to New England, but the morality of the transaction is not changed by a disparity in numbers.

It is not to be supposed that those who engaged in this traffic, euphemistically hidden with the label of "apprenticeships," should hesitate to drive their helpless servants to the point of ill treatment, although it is not believed that this was a general situation. However, on May 23, 1655, a number of them complained of this inevitable outgrowth of bondage and petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for freedom, but their request was refused in the following terms: [20]

In answer to the petition of seuerall Scotshmen [who desire to be freed from their masters, the Court, seeing] no proofe nor probabilitye appearing of what the petitioners affirme, the Court sees no cause to graunt theire request.

Samuel Stratton of Watertown bought one of these Scotchmen and the documents in the case are here shown. It is, of course, an open question whether these men, unable to sign their names, could read the indentures by which they were bound and in this particular case it is clear that Alexander Gordon, the party of the second part, was a victim of ill treatment. His original indenture was as follows: [21]

This indenture witnesseth that I, Allexander Gorthing Scotchman, Lately being arrived the coasts of New England, do covenant agree and promise to Serve Goodman Stratton, Planter of Watertowne the full space of six years, wherein I do promise to do him true and faithfull service not to absent myselfe day or night out of his family dureing the time of Apprentiship aforesaid without his Licence or consent, that I will not entangle or engage myselfe in any way of Contracts or mariage dureing the aforesaid time, all his Lawfull demands and injunctions I do promise to fulfill to my uttermost power and abilities, all this I the aforesaid Allexander do likewise promise, bynd and ingage myself to serve my full time to some of his sonnes untill it be fully expired if providence should take away my present master by death, witnes my hand

ALLEXANDER GORTHING
his marke & a seale.

[20] *Mass. Col. Rec.*, IV. Pt. I, 232. The same entry, differently worded, is in *Ib.*, III. Pt. II, 381, from which the words in brackets are taken.

[21] Middlesex Deeds, I. 61.

Oct. 15, 1652
Witness, Goodman Blois
Richard Blois
Richard Norcras.

Delivered by Alexander as his act and deed in the presence of us underwritten to his master Goodman Stratton.

Richard Norcross, John Cloys.

Wee consent to the turning over of this Servant to Samuel Stratton the 19th of the 8 mo: 1652

Increase Nowell
William Hibbins

Recorded 25:4:1653 By me Tho: Danforth *Recorder.*

This may be regarded as a typical case of the less fortunate bondservants. It would seem that after he had finished his service with his first master, or possibly before he was redeemed through the benevolence of a resident of Cambridge, even in his freedom Stratton became the victim of mistreatment at the hands of a subsequent employer. The following is a statement of his subsequent difficulties addressed to the County Court at Charlestown, as well as a confirmation of the story of his travels after the Battle of Worcester: [22]

To the honored the Deputy Governor with the rest of the magistrates assembled in the County Court now held at Charlestowne this 3d of the 11th mo. 1663. The Petition of Alexander Gorden Scotchman.

Humbly Showeth Whereas by the wise providence of the Almighty God your poare petitioner (with many others of his countrymen) was taken a prisoner in the late English wars with Scotland, and with many more prisoners brought into Tottell fields, where and from whence your poare petitioner was redeemed by monies payd by Mr. Daniel Stone of Cambridge, who hath, as appeares by his bill given under his hand, freely given your poare petitioner the same, and also whereas Jno. Cloise of Watertowne at the same time moved your petitioner to go along with him by sea to this place without any agreement for time or wages, only his promise to be as a father in all love and kindness to your poare petitioner, and also whereas your poare petitioner obteined his pas-

[22] Middlesex Court Files. Gordon became the ancestor of a well-known family in Exeter.

sage by his labour without any charge to the said Cloise as Mr. Jno Allen the m[aste]r of the said Ship hath under his hand given, manifesting also his willingness your poare petitioner should have the benefit of the same, also whereas the said Jno. Cloise hath (after faythfull service for about a years space performed by your petitioner and hard usage by the wife of the said Cloise) now sould your poare petitioner for seventeen poundes without any recompense or consideration of his promise made to your petitioner, or the petitioners labor in the ship or on shoare whereby your poare petitioner apprehendeth himself to be much wronged, yet being a poare exile and friendless hath been willing to suffer, your petitioner do therefore now humbly Comend the Consideration of the premises to this Honored Court haveing no other reffuge; and your petitioner shal be ready to prove the perticulars above named, and doe Humbly intreate this Honored Court to vousafe the Consideration thereof that so far as justice and equity, according to the laws of God and this Cominwealth, will tend to the releiff of your petitioner, your poare petitioner may receive some help therefrome, And your petitioner shall set down well payd with the determination of this Honored Court and shall continue humbly to pray etc.

ALLEXANDER GORDEN.

Valentine Hill of Dover, formerly of Boston, where he had been a Deacon of the First Church, was one of the large dealers in these contract prisoners. He was interested with Kemble, to whom the prisoners had been consigned, in the mills at Dover, and thus came his connection with these Worcester captives. But he had also bought some of the previous lot of Dunbar men, as appears from the town records: [23]

5:10mo:1652: Given and granted unto Mr. Valentine Hill, his heires, Executors, administrators or assigns foure acres of land adjoining to Goodman Hudsons Lott for his Scots.

Also the following confirms his extensive dealings in this kind of labor: [24]

Layd out and Bounded to henrey Brown and James Ore fower ackers which were given and granted unto Mr. Vallentine Hills seven Scotes in the yeir 1652: Said land lyeth on the northern side of the land that was granted to Hudson and now in the hands of Edward Patterson.

[23] Dover Town Records, I. 59. [24] *Ib.*

Doubtless these men lived in rude cabins and cultivated small garden plots when not engaged in the mills.

The neighboring town of Durham, New Hampshire, had a number of the Scotch prisoners. The tax lists and other sources of information show that Exeter also profited by this chattel slavery, as Nicholas Lissen of the latter place is credited with being master of some of the Worcester prisoners.

Some of these Scotchmen found their way to Block Island, after being freed, and became a respectable section of the early settlers of that island. Some had worked at Lynn, and others at the branch works in Braintree. They must have belonged to the Dunbar contingent. Their names are Alexander Innes, Robert Guthrie, Thormut (or Dermot) Rose, William Tosh, James Danielson and possibly a few others.

It is not intended, nor is it practicable, to undertake to trail all of these unfortunate exiles from their native land by the fortunes of war to their final destinations. What has been set forth above will indicate the line of research for fuller details. Local records of the older towns of this Commonwealth must be searched for distinctive Scotch names in the vital statistics, or for casual references in the actions of the Selectmen or the town meetings. It is known that Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Dedham, Concord, Hingham, Ipswich, Reading and Salem became the homes of numbers of them, while there is much probability that a few went to Taunton to work in the iron bogs in that town. A few are known to have gone to Connecticut, and as far as New Jersey when they had served their time.

Their progeny is to be found in nearly every New England family, in its ancestral ramifications, for most of them were young men of marriageable age and in many instances they married the daughters of their masters. This was the case with James Claghorn who went into the service of Barnard Lambert of Barnstable, and after freedom removed to Martha's Vineyard. He was the ancestor of Colonel George Claghorn, who built the *Constitution.* It was good sturdy stock that lent its sterling qualities to the native New England strain, and they rendered good accounts of themselves in the Indian, French and Revolution wars, in defence of the Colo-

nies. One of them who came in the *John and Sarah* was a David Hume who settled in Dedham where his name is recorded as Holmes. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the poet, was sixth in descent from him. Daniel Black of Topsfield was another who had a distinguished descendant in the late Gov. Frank S. Black of New York.

A by-product of this somewhat discreditable, but none the less picturesque, incident in our early history was the formation of the Scots Charitable Society organized in Boston January 6, 1657, "for the relief of Scotchmen." This date represents the proximate time when the prisoners from Dunbar and Worcester were finishing their terms of servitude. Those who had not formed local connections naturally drifted to Boston without employment and possessed of little of this world's goods. They were at first looked down upon as aliens and classed in the public records with Negroes and Indians. A Scotch prisoner in New England in 1660 was the analogue of a European alien in 1860 and this society was formed to assist them. Among the charter members are found the names of some who served time in the Lynn Iron Works. A few Scotchmen who had come to Boston before the regime of Cromwell and his "Ironsides" were also founders of this benevolent society.

Mr. Norcross contributed the following two letters from his collection:

Henry Clay to Adam Beatty[1]

Ashland, 4th Sept., 1832.

Dear Sir — I rec'd your favor of yesterday. The kind present of a barrel of wheat from our friend Mr. Child will be very acceptable, and I am obliged by your promise to have it forwarded to me. I will have some ground carefully prepared to sow it in.

I am happy to hear of the good spirit prevailing among our friends in Macon. A similar one exists here, and generally as far as I can learn. If we could introduce everywhere an effective plan of organization, the State would go with us by at least 5000. I hope such a plan will be devised by the Convention which is to meet on the 20th and which ought to be composed of practical men. Sincerely Your friend, H. Clay.

[1] Of Prospect Hill, near Washington, Kentucky.

Henry Clay to James Trecothick Austin

Washington, 5th Jan., 1836.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 23d Ulto and the pamphlet which accompanies it, on the subject of slavery.[2] I have perused it with great attention and lively interest and think it distinguished by uncommon ability and eloquence. The Southern public cannot fail to be pleased to recognize in its author one of the ablest defenders of their rights. One of my mess-mates (the Honble Mr. Porter,[3] a senator from Louisiana) has also read the pamphlet, and coincides with me in the judgment I have formed.

There is one conception, common to the pamphlet and to other answers to the Abolitionists, which I am disposed to doubt, and that is their right of free discussion, as it is usually expressed, or, as they really mean, their right at the north, where there is no slavery, freely to discuss the institution of slavery at the south. The right of free discussion of all matters, without reserve, that relate to ourselves, is a very precious and sacred right. But have we a right to discuss that which we have no right to deliberate upon or to decide? Is not the right of discussion limited by the right of action? Is not the *right* to discuss the political concerns reserved to those matters on which, in some one of our characters, primary or derivative, we have a right to pass? Throw off all restraint, and what is the right of discussion, exercised beyond the limits of our own State, but the principle of propagandism?

You will readily apply these suggestions. With great respect I am Y'rs truly

H. Clay

[2] *Remarks on Dr. Channing's Slavery. By a Citizen of Massachusetts,* 1835. The tract ran through three editions in that year. A reply to it was written by Samuel Swett, *A Friend of the South in Answer to Remarks on Dr. Channing's Slavery,* 1836.

[3] Alexander Porter (1786–1844).

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 10, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian reported the following gifts:

From Miss Susan Hopkins, of Williamstown, papers of Mark and Henry Hopkins, 1816 to 1829.

From Miss Marian L. Blake, interleaved almanacs, 1789, and 1791, with notes by Ezekiel Price; an expense book kept in England, 1806, 1807; and four letters, Boston and New York, 1825 to 1830.

From Miss H. Gertrude Crosby, of Bangor, Maine, Crosby family papers, relating to Boston affairs, 1829 to 1877.

From Grenville H. Norcross, seven letters, written by Thomas Ball, 1869 to 1871, to his father Otis Norcross, on his statue of Gov. John A. Andrew in the State House grounds.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From William C. Endicott, a volume containing Confederate bills; and two photographs of the statue of George Peabody, erected near the Bank of England, in London, 1869.

From Miss Georgiana Cushing Lane, of Quincy, photographs of the John Adams, and John Quincy Adams houses there.

Edward Motley Pickman, of Bedford, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on November 3, of Dr. John Collins Warren, a Resident Member since 1910, and spoke of his deep interest in the welfare of the Society, and of his valued gift of the papers of the Warren family in forty-six volumes from the Revolutionary period to the present time, of five successive generations of the family.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Dr. SHATTUCK who said:

In the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue three successive generations of Warrens are listed as teachers in the Medical School, 1783 to 1927 inclusive, save for a gap of fifteen years, from 1856 to 1871. The fourth generation is today represented by John and Joseph Warren, sons of John Collins, professors in the Medical and Law Schools, respectively, who carry high the family torch.

Can one wonder that our member who has just gone over to the majority in the fullness of years and accomplishment should have had his blood, socially blue, deeply tinged with the Harvard crimson? Harvard University, but specially and naturally her Medical School, permeated his being. Born in 1842, after every educational advantage, general and professional, he began his teaching career in 1871, two years after Mr. Eliot's accession to the Presidency, and breathed with joy the educational air freshly charged with the oxygen of reform and progress.

In the move from the dismally inadequate North Grove Street building to the Boylston Street home he played his part. So great, so rapid was the advance of medicine that it was not long before the Boylston Street building was obviously outgrown. Henry P. Bowditch and Warren, Castor and Pollux, Moses and Aaron, foresaw future needs, undismayed by the expense involved and no money source in sight. An important point was the proximate expiration of the twenty-five-year accumulation of Peter Bent Brigham's bequest for a hospital for the poor of Boston. The advantages of co-operation with such a hospital were obvious.

Elsewhere I have told "The Dramatic Story of the New Harvard Medical School."[1] Here and now, suffice it to say that within ten years of a small meeting at Warren's house of professors and several members of the Corporation, perhaps fifteen men in all, at which meeting Bowditch and Warren unfolded their plans, the Medical School moved into its present stately abode. It entered this ten-year period with no money, save a few hundred thousand dollars of endowment, plus the selling price of the Boylston and Exeter Street land

[1] *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. 193, 1058–61.

and buildings. At the end of that period it owned a generous home, planned for both present and future, and with endowment enough, with tuition fees added, to meet absolute and immediate needs. A working agreement was reached with the far-sighted P. B. Brigham Trustees, who bought and built on land secured by the Medical School with that end in view. A group of affiliated hospitals and medical undertakings grew up immediately about the School. Of these Warren begat the Huntington (Cancer) Hospital and was indispensable in securing the funds for its maintenance. He also begat the dormitory for medical students, publishing a plea for it in 1909. In this case gestation was relatively long and labor difficult; but a vigorous and beautiful child was born, and was christened October 14th last. Thus Warren's latest big dream was realized during his lifetime. His name is perpetuated in a room given by his classmate and friend — and friend of the School also — Francis L. Higginson.

In all these plans which came to such brilliant success, Warren's immediate aim was to keep Harvard and its Medical School in the forefront of the battle against disease. He must have, at least in a measure, sooner or later realized how the seed which he sowed in Boston would be carried elsewhere. The great unfolding of the Harvard School awakened emulation in other centres throughout this country. Mr. John D. Rockefeller's personal gift of a million to the Harvard Medical School antedated the Rockefeller Institute and Foundation. The latter limits the scope of its medical beneficences only by this world. True, expansion was in the air, was bound to come as a result of the revolution in medicine worked by the new knowledge of bacterial life; but the vision and faith of Bowditch and Warren stimulated the movement, to state the fact conservatively. Among beggars in this community he was in the front rank, led only, perhaps, by Bishop Lawrence, who has been called the Prince of Beggars. Warren was so sincere, so free from guile, so obviously disinterested — such a gentleman withal — that a cause of wide appeal was sure to prosper under his fostering care. Medical education throughout the world is in his debt. For the impetus which he gave to the Harvard Medical School was a potent stimulus to medical centers then in being or in embryo.

The Harvard Medical School, its interests and welfare, though ever first in his thought, did not monopolize it. In this Society, as you all know, his interest was keen and active. Indeed, I think our meetings were the last he gave up attending. His wise counsel and help were in demand and freely given to ardent workers for the public good.

He was a good skater and kept up this exercise later in life than most men. The saddle and the golf links knew him well.

The Thursday Evening Club — of which I think his grandfather was the founder — the Humane Society and other social activities he enjoyed, contributing more than his fair share to the enjoyment of others.

His professional positions and honors, his membership in societies and clubs, his professional writings, — are they not listed elsewhere and readily accessible? In this company it seems to me more fitting to try, however rudely and inadequately, to sketch the man himself, our beloved companion and friend.

Within a year we chronicled the passing of a great gentleman from 56 Beacon Street, also a physician, William S. Bigelow. Today we memorize the passing, from 58 Beacon Street, of another great gentleman, each in his own way a good and faithful servant gone to his reward.

Professor HARING read a paper on "The Revolution in Mexico which began in 1910."

Professor MORISON read a paper on

DID WILLIAM BRADFORD LEAVE LEYDEN BEFORE THE PILGRIMS?

Our associate Colonel Banks, in an article in the *Boston Evening Transcript,* Saturday, May 28, 1927, declares that Governor Bradford, instead of leaving Leyden with the Pilgrims, was residing in London in March, 1619–20. No fact or surmise about the Pilgrims is negligible, least of all this; for if Bradford was not in Leyden during the first six months of 1620, the account in his *History* of the preparations for the voyage, perhaps even his moving description of the de-

parture from Delftshaven, was not written from personal observation.

The principal evidence upon which Colonel Banks bases his startling conclusion is the presence of the name William Bradford, as taxed 5 *s*, on £3 worth of property, on the subsidy roll of March, 1620, under "The Dukes Place." Heneage House in the Dukes Place, off Houndsditch, London, was at that time cut up into small tenements. Among the tenants was Edward Southworth, a former member of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden, and husband of the lady who became Bradford's second wife. Robert Cushman's farewell letter from Dartmouth, August 17, 1620, is addressed "to his loving friend Ed. S. at Henige House in the Dukes Place." [1] Although no other Pilgrim names than Bradford's — not even Southworth's — are found on this subsidy roll, it is possible, as Colonel Banks concludes in his most interesting article, that Southworth's tenement in Heneage House served as Pilgrim headquarters in London, and that Robert Cushman stayed there when acting as the Pilgrims' agent in dealing with Weston and the Merchant Adventurers. The suggestion is an interesting one; but are we justified in accepting it as a fact, on the mere basis of finding the name of William Bradford — not necessarily our Governor Bradford — on the roll? In view of the absence of Southworth's name, even he may have moved into Heneage House between April and August, 1620.

Assuming that the William Bradford of the subsidy roll was our William Bradford, one must note that his name in the subsidy roll does not necessarily prove that he was a resident of the Dukes Place, but only that he had property there of sufficient value [2] to be assessed. We know little of Bradford's property in 1620. Cotton Mather tells us in the *Magnalia,* that when Bradford came of age (in 1611) he converted "his estate in England into money," which was consumed in certain "designs, by the Providence of GOD, frowned upon." [3] The property at Heneage House in March,

[1] Bradford, *Plimmoth Plantation,* [43]; Ford ed., I. 141.

[2] Subsidies are described in G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes of Elizabeth and James I,* LXXXI ff., and a Subsidy Act of 1 Eliz. is printed *ib.,* 27–36.

[3] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers,* 42.

1620, may have been the proceeds of something saved from his estate, or it may have represented his savings at Leyden. Bradford owned a house in Leyden which he sold for 1120 guilders in 1619,[4] and although we find that one hundred guilders are due him in May, 1620, for annual interest on the mortgage,[5] he probably received a certain amount in cash. Bradford may have sent this over by Cushman or Carver, to be laid out in supplies for the voyage and for his new home in America. Heneage House would be an obvious place to store his property in London.

Colonel Banks, however, finds other evidence to show that Bradford was in London at that time. Bradford states in his *History*, chapter vi, that "aboute this time" (probably February, 1620,[6] when the Leyden congregation were perplexed with the factions and bickerings of the Virginia Company, and the failure of Blackwell's expedition), Thomas Weston came over to Leyden in a receptive mood for

such propossitions, as might the better induce his freinds to venture. Upon which (after the formere conclusion) articles were drawne and agreed unto, and were showne unto him, and approved by him; and afterwards by their messenger (Mr. John Carver) sent into England, who, togeather with Robart Cushman, were to receive the moneys and make provissione both for shiping and other things for the vioage; with this charge, not to exseede their commission, but to proceed according to the former articles. Also some were chossen to doe the like for shuch things as were to be prepared there; so those that were to goe, prepared them selves with all speed, and sould of their estates and (shuch as were able) put in their moneys into the commone stocke, which was disposed by those appointed, for the making of generall provissions.[7]

[4] H. M. Dexter, *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 604.

[5] A. Eekhof, *Three Unknown Documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland*, 23.

[6] It is difficult to date "this time" exactly. It was certainly after June, 1619, when the Wincop patent was sealed. Usher (58–9) believes that Weston did not come to Leyden until February or March, 1620, when he had obtained the Pierce patent from the Virginia Company; Deane thought it more likely that Weston would have waited for the Pilgrims to bite before going to the expense of obtaining the patent, which was granted February 2, 1620. But the agreement concluded by Cushman with the adventurers is dated as late as July 1, 1620. Arber (300) makes out a very strong case for February or March, 1620, being the date of Weston's visit.

[7] *Plimmoth Plantation*, [27]; Ford ed., 1. 100.

Colonel Banks asserts that "there" in the phrase "such things as were to be prepared there," means London; and that the proper interpretation is that Bradford "was delegated with the duty of deciding more important details of general policy as distinguished from the task of collecting money and supplies for the voyage, which was entrusted to Carver and Cushman."

It seems to me that if we take the text alone, the word "there" will bear no other interpretation than Leyden. It is used in antithesis to London; and Bradford wrote "there" rather than "here" because he wrote his *History* in America. But, aside from the text, why should a supplementary commission be chosen to "doe the like" in London, in other words, to do exactly the same things as Cushman and Carver were appointed to do, and in the same place? Further, it is perfectly clear from Bradford's *History* that Cushman and Carver settled the "important details of general policy" with the Merchant Adventurers. One or the other, or both, signed all the letters to Leyden about the negotiations, and Cushman bore the blame for the alteration in the original articles. No other committees or delegates for settling "general policy" are mentioned, nor can their existence be inferred from the *History*. Later, Mr. Martin of Billerica, leader of the *Mayflower* passengers who did not come from Leyden, was "joyned with" Carver and Cushman "to make the provisions for the vioage," and Cushman refers to "us 3" in his letter of June 10, 1620, to Carver; [8] but there is no hint or suggestion of any unnamed committee from Leyden, of which Bradford might have been a member, settling "important details of general policy" at London, over Cushman's and Carver's heads.

Further, William Bradford was one of the signers of a letter "from sundrie of them" at Leyden to Carver and Cushman at London, dated "June 10, New Stille, Anno: 1620." [9] Both the terms of this letter, and of Cushman's two replies to it, strongly suggest that Bradford himself was one

[8] *Ib.*, [35], I. 117, 119.

[9] *Ib.*, [31], I. 109–11. The identification of the initials subscribed to the letter is made by Prince, on the margin of the MS., from the lost portion of Bradford's letter-book.

of those " chosen to doe the like " in Leyden. Even if he was not a member of this committee, the letter proves that he was on June 10, 1620, in a position of authority in the Leyden congregation. His fellow-signers are Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, and Isaac Allerton. And on July 14–24, 1620, he signed a power of attorney at Leyden.[10] One week later, the *Speedwell* sailed from Delftshaven, with the Leyden Pilgrims.

Colonel Banks follows his last quoted sentence with a bit of corroborative evidence. " Prince, in his *Chronological Annals,* confirms this conclusion, placing him [Bradford] in London in 1619–20." The passage referred to in Prince, is a footnote to page 60 of Part I of the 1736 edition. Referring to Bradford's earlier statement in his fifth chapter, that upon the decision of the Leyden congregation to go ahead without a royal promise of toleration, " other messengers wear dispatched, to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could," [11] Prince notes " By Mr. Cushman's Letter from London, of May 8 this year, they [the other messengers] seem to be Mr Cushman himself and Mr. Bradford." This note of Prince, then, refers not to the mission of the latter half of 1619, after the Wincop patent was received at Leyden, but to the preceding mission which was probably sent in the early spring of 1619,[12] in order to conclude matters with the Virginia Company, and obtain the patent. Bradford does not directly name the members of this mission,[13]

[10] E. Eekhof, *Three Unknown Documents concerning the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland,* 23.

[11] *Plimmoth Plantation,* [19], 1. 70.

[12] Cushman's letter of May 8 begins as if it were his first of this particular mission, and it begins with an apology not having written " long since " on account of the " hinderance to our proceedings." I infer that Cushman went over in February or March, 1619; but he may well have gone earlier, for the later date leaves rather a large gap in 1618 when no business was done.

[13] *Ibid.,* [19], 1. 69; cf. note of Charles Deane, in Ford ed., 1. 74–5. A chronology of the Pilgrims' missions to London may be convenient —

(1) " 2 were chosen and sent in to England . . . to sollicite this matter " of toleration and to start negotiations with the Virginia Company, on the basis of the Seven Articles — *Plimmoth Plantation,* [19], Ford ed., 1. 66. Those were Cushman and Carver, and went in the summer or early autumn of 1617. According to Sandys's letter of Nov. 12, 1617, " they doe now return unto you." [20], 1. 73.

(2) Carver and " a gentleman " were sent back to London in December, 1617, to continue negotiations with the Virginia Company — Robinson and

but it is clear from Cushman's letter of May 8, 1619 (not 1618),[14] to which Prince refers, that Cushman was one of them, in the same letter Cushman twice refers to his colleague as "Mr. B," and in the last line as "Mr. Brewster." The letter of Sir Dudley Carleton, British Ambassador at the Hague,[15] gives further evidence that Brewster was in London at that time. All the editors of Bradford's *History* have concluded that Cushman's colleague was William Brewster, not William Bradford; Prince could not have made that contrary statement if he had read Cushman's letter carefully. Brewster was, of course, the obvious man for a negotiation with the Virginia Company, on account of his worldly experience and connection with Sir Edwin Sandys.

I conclude therefore, (1) that there is no evidence of Bradford having left Holland before the final departure thence of the Pilgrims on August 1, 1620; (2) that there is positive evidence that he was not a member of any agency from the Leyden congregation to London; (3) that he was probably a member of the committee which made the final preparations for the voyage at Leyden; and (4) that his account of those preparations, and of the departure from Delftshaven was that of an eye-witness. I further submit that we need more evidence before concluding that Heneage House served as Pilgrim headquarters in London, or indeed that the Pilgrims had any headquarters in London.

Brewster's letter of Dec. 15, 1617. *Ib.*, [21], I. 75. The time of their return to Leyden is not known. It is probable, however, as Arber thinks, that these first two missions are identical, that Robinson and Brewster are merely recapitulating in their letter of Dec. 15, and that the "gentleman" was Cushman. Carver was probably still in London on Sept. 4, 1618, when Staresmore wrote him from prison. *Ib.*, [26], I. 94.

(3) Cushman and "Mr. B." "were dispatched to end with the Virginia Company," some time in the winter of 1618–19 or early spring of 1619. Bradford relates that "messengers passed to and fro again" but they were both in London on May 8, 1619. This mission obtained the Wincop patent. Arber (327) thinks it returned early in 1620.

(4) The mission already alluded to, of Carver and Cushman to treat with the Merchant Adventurers on the basis of Weston's agreement. Cushman was already in London, having remained there right along; Carver probably left Leyden in March or April, 1620. (See Arber, *Story*, 300–07, 317.)

[14] *Plimmoth Plantation*, [24], I. 84–90.

[15] *Ib.*, I. 89–90, n, quoting *Historical Magazine*, IV. 4–5.

Mr. FRENCH spoke of his work during the past summer at the Public Record Office in London, and of the condition of many of the bundles and volumes of papers and records. He spoke particularly of one volume upon which he had been working, namely, No. C. O. 592, which contained the letters and papers of General Gage while in America and of his reports then sent to Lord Dartmouth and his office in London.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 8, 1927, at 3 P. M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Delano Wight, papers collected by him as assistant officer in charge of the draft in the World War, in the Adjutant General's office, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1917–1919.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Herbert Lawton, a replica of the life mask of Lincoln made by Truman H. Bartlett.

From Thomas Johnston Homer, a photostat of the Arch and Colonnade erected for the visit to Boston in 1789 of Washington, who was there welcomed by a select choir of singers, " with Daniel Rea, the most famous vocalist of Boston in that day, at their head."

From Dr. John W. Farlow, three photographs, the Harvard Class of 1866 on its Sixtieth Anniversary, the O. K. Club of the Class, and Dr. William Gilson Farlow.

From Joseph Leman Vondel, of Sharon, a photograph of the portrait of Governor Francis Bernard.

From the State of New York, the bronze medal struck to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the inauguration of Governor George Clinton.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Edward Motley Pickman, of Bedford, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Dr. John Warren, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Judge Frederic William Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. MEAD submitted a paper, read by Mr. Wolkins, on

RECENT WASHINGTON LITERATURE IN ENGLAND

It is a noteworthy and memorable thing that the most important history of the American Revolution was written by George Otto Trevelyan, an Englishman, and that it is written as Americans would have it. Trevelyan's history has scattered through it many impressive encomiums of George Washington. I recall one such following the account of the military operations of 1777, of which we have lately been thinking in connection with the Saratoga celebration. The successful close of the American campaign against Burgoyne was the high light of that year 1777, and Trevelyan surveys Washington's own contribution to that success. But there was much that was dark and discouraging in 1777; and he brings out the wisdom and capacity and nobility of Washington through light and dark alike, with an eloquent admonition, pertinent at this hour, on the high duty of a nation to cherish its heroes.

The first volume of Trevelyan's history was published in 1898. Lord Byron died in 1824. It was some years before his death that, as a verse in a long poem, he published his famous tribute to Washington, the most memorable tribute to Washington in English poetry. Even 1824 was long after Washington's death, but England had not waited to pay fitting tribute to Washington. Englishmen in the very hour of the Revolution recognized his greatness, and they recognized it steadily and increasingly as the years of his administration went on, and after his death.

The first British biography of Washington known to me was not by a noted writer, but it appeared in 1800, the year after Washington died. The author was John Corry, a native of the North of Ireland, who after a brief journalistic career in Dublin found his way about 1792 to London, which place seems to have got a strong hold on him, for he published three books about it, including *A Satirical View of London* (1801). But he also wrote histories of Liverpool, Bristol, Macclesfield, and Lancashire, and biographies of Cowper, and Joseph Priestley, besides volumes of poetry and fiction, a book on *The Detector of Quackery* and one on *The Mysterious Gen-*

tleman Farmer. If John Corry was not great, he was versatile, enterprising, and zealous. His *Life of Washington,* enlarged from a "Sketch of the Life of the late General Washington" by Corry, published in the *British Magazine,* Feb.–May, 1800, was printed by J. W. Myers, No. 2 Paternoster Row, and sold by sundry booksellers in Fleet Street, Paternoster Row, and Edinburgh. It is a small volume and the full title is: "*The Life of George Washington, late President and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America; interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes of the most eminent Men who effected the American Revolution.* Dedicated (by permission) to the right Honourable the Lord Mayor."[1] It incorporates at the end Washington's Farewell Address, and points out the similarity between the public virtues of Washington and Alfred the Great. The Preface opens as follows:

> The following biography is a simple narrative of facts. The virtues of Washington require no adventitious embellishment; like the sun, they are visible by their own lustre. Yet, if on some occasions, the author has been led by enthusiasm to panegyric, those effusions of a heart enamoured of virtue were involuntary, for he is convinced that the achievements of his hero are 'Above all Greek, above all Roman fame.'

This extract illustrates the style of the book. It is honest, painstaking, glowing, and commonplace. The noteworthy thing about it is its manifestly great popularity, alike in England and America. A new edition, probably pirated, had already appeared in Belfast in 1800, and in Dublin in 1801, and in 1802 it was again published in London in an abridged form. In this country several editions were published, the first in Philadelphia in 1801, two in New York in 1807, others in New York and New Haven in 1809, and in Poughkeepsie and Baltimore in 1812.

The next English biography of Washington known to me — I am not attempting a bibliography, but these are illustrative — was a scholarly work in two volumes published in 1835 by Cyrus R. Edmonds, who was the editor of a history

[1] H. C. Combe. The dedication is dated April 22, 1800.

of feudalism and of editions of Cicero and Livy. Says Mr. Edmonds in his preface:

> The public and political character of Washington's life has led his biographers into one capital error. They have been Americans; and, with perhaps a pardonable nationality, they have confined their narration to those parts of his history which, as connected with the political events of the times, reflect the greatest glory upon the American people. . . . In developing the great principles of the American Revolution, they limit their attention to the progress of opinion in America, and pass over in comparative silence the transactions of the British Senate, which was in fact the great arena of the political conflict. . . . In developing the causes which led to the American Revolution, he [the writer] has endeavoured to delineate with impartiality the political movements both of the Colonies and the parent State.

As a matter of fact, his pages upon the political movements in the parent State are for us today the most interesting.

There is a military life of Washington, studying his campaigns, by Lieut.-Colonel Charles Cooper King, published in London, 1894. Upon this my judgment would not be expert. I know that at the beginning, in 1776, Washington forced the British army out of Boston, and in 1781 compelled Cornwallis to surrender, bringing the war to a victorious close, and that during some of that time his forces and resources were not overwhelmingly superior.

There is also a *Life of George Washington, the Father of Modern Democracy,* by the Very Rev. James O'Boyle, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic in Antrim, published in 1915, in the war time, a really vital and pulsating book. Only democracy can save us: the only reliable conserver of the State is the Catholic Church; we must have peace; and the only way to peace is a federation of nations, like the federation of states which Washington and his associates achieved for America — that is the burden. There are, of course, English books on Washington for young people. But a modern critical, scholarly, adequate English life of Washington does not exist.

The most noteworthy new Washington literature in England has to do with the history of the Washington family

there; and perhaps the central impulse to this was the purchase of the Sulgrave Manor House and the founding of the Sulgrave Institution by the co-operation of English and American lovers of Washington. The course of the Institution has not been entirely smooth. Its proposal to place a bust of Washington in Westminster Abbey evoked an oath from one bellicose patrioteer, that if the great rebel were thus honored he would smash the bust. A replica of Houdon's statue of Washington was placed in front of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square.

Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-of-arms, made some research concerning the English origin of the Washingtons and, writing in 1793, mentioned Lawrence Washington's holding of Sulgrave Manor and the brass plate with the Washington inscription. His account was first published by Sparks in 1837 and thus became open to all interested. In a note to p. 13 in the first chapter of his *Life of Washington,* published in 1855, Irving says:

> The writer of these pages visited Sulgrave a few years since. It was in a quiet rural neighborhood, where the farm-houses were quaint and antiquated. A part only of the manor house remained, and was inhabited by a farmer. The Washington crest, in colored glass, was to be seen in a window of what was now the buttery. A window on which the whole family arms was emblazoned had been removed to the residence of the actual proprietor of the manor. . . . In the pavement of the parish church we were shown a stone slab bearing effigies on plates of brass of Laurence Washington, gent. and Anne his wife, and their four sons and eleven daughters. The inscription in black letter was dated 1564.

My first visit to Sulgrave was in 1901. I was there again this present year. In the meantime the Sulgrave Institution had come into possession and everything is impressively renovated and improved. The newly appointed vicar of Sulgrave, Rev. W. S. Pakenham-Walsh, is doing much to awaken the parish to its historical traditions. He is a scholar and poet and he has published in attractive form admirable little pamphlets on the Sulgrave Church and the Washington ancestry. Under his guidance I went from Sulgrave to Northampton, visiting on the way Great Brington church and the Washington house at Little Brington, the home of Robert

Washington. The rector of Purleigh, in Essex, whose predecessor in the seventeenth century was Rev. Lawrence Washington, father of our Virginia John and Lawrence, is equally devoted to Washington interests.

The English scholar who knows more about the Washington history than any other is Mr. T. Pape, B.A. a master in the Orme Boys' School at Newcastle-under-Lyme, in Staffordshire. His researches and knowledge are most thorough and his earliest publication, his Warton pamphlet, published in 1913, was composed of scattered newspaper articles printed in previous years. Three of Mr. Pape's Washington papers have been published in this country, in *Tyler's [Virginia] Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine.* The earliest of these articles was in the number for January, 1923, a Washington number, entitled "The Washington Emigrants and their Parents," in which he proved certain points left unproved by Mr. Waters; and Rev. H. Isham Longden of Northamptonshire has carried the research further, supplementing Mr. Pape's studies. In the number for January, 1925, Mr. Pape had an article on "The English ancestry of Baron George Washington." He has published articles about the Washington pedigree in many English newspapers and weekly and monthly journals — most of his longer articles in England in the *London Field* — and in various pamphlets. One of these is upon *Warton and George Washington's Ancestors,* another upon *Sulgrave Manor House and the Washington Family.* He has much unpublished material, and several hundred photographs of monuments, deeds, signatures and Washington entries, from about thirty places in England.

Warton in Lancashire was the home of the ancestors of Lawrence Washington of Northampton and Sulgrave for six generations. The first Warton Washington, like the first Virginia Washington, was named John Washington; and he was descended from Robert Washington of Westmoreland. Warton plays a conspicuous part in the Washington history. Mr. Pape in his Warton pamphlet gives a record of the Washington entries — baptisms, marriages and deaths — thirty-four entries in all, from the Warton registers. There is much upon various periods of the Washington family history, not

only in Warton, but in Northampton, Sulgrave and Purleigh, with a glance back to the Washingtons of Yorkshire, where the little village of Washington is located, near Richmond, from which parent stock came the Washingtons of Westmoreland and Warton. He also incorporates interesting matter concerning the various Washington memorials in England, including the beautiful stained glass window in the clerestory of Selby Abbey, showing the Washington shield, which was made the subject of an interesting illustrated article in *Scribner's Magazine* a few years ago. The pamphlet is largely descriptive of Warton and the country round about. Warton is in the extreme northwest corner of Lancashire, near Morecambe Bay, not far from Lancaster itself. "I know of no place in England," writes Mr. Pape, "where the view across the sea is so beautiful as at Morecambe. It must be a very misty day indeed if the nearer hills of Warton Crag and Arnside Knott cannot be distinguished; and usually, the background of the great Cambrian mountains makes a pleasing panorama." Warton itself, "is looked upon as a little sleepy town, consisting of one straggling street flanked by rough-cast stone cottages and houses;" but to Mr. Pape it is eloquent, and he takes us behind the superficial externals.

Most interesting of course is Warton church. The pamphlet's frontispiece is a picture of the Washington coat-of-arms on Warton church tower, which Mr. Pape pronounces the oldest Washington memorial in existence. In 1730 a certain writer about Warton quoted by him said: "On the north side of the steeple door, six or seven feet from the ground, are the arms of Washington, well cut in the stone, which is a plain indication that this family, ancient in the town, where the Rev. Mr. Lawrence Washington has a good estate, have been large contributors towards the building of the fabric." Mr. Pape says that Robert Washington, who died in 1483, was the builder of the church tower. Of the memorial stone itself he says:

> For many years the shield remained hidden, because all the outside of the church was covered with a roughcast of rubble and lime; but in the year 1885 some of the roughcast outside the tower fell off, and the long-lost Washington shield was exposed to view. Now

a glass covering has been placed over the relic, to preserve it from further decay. It is very much worn, but the three mullets at the top can easily be distinguished. They have only four points, though there ought to be five. The two bars below are cut into the stone, not left in relief. The shield is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and 7 inches in width.

Many of the Washington family were buried in the church, as specified in the wills which are still preserved; but when the interior of the church was restored in 1892 many memorial tombstones were sold to be used for flags for footpaths in the village. "One stone," says Mr. Pape, "dated 1670, in memory of Nathaniel West,[2] a member of Baron de la War's family, was sawn in half, and the upper part, bearing the arms of West, and part of the inscription, used to form one of the flagstones in a path leading up to a house at the north end of Warton! Its original position was in the floor of the nave of the church. Perhaps if some of the old flagstones in the village were turned over, even now an inscription to the memory of a Washington might come to light!"

A tombstone in the churchyard under the east window of the church marks the resting-place of the last of the Washingtons of Warton. Mr. Pape gives a picture of it from a photograph. It is to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Washington, who died in 1751, and of the Rev. Thomas Washington, vicar of Warton from 1799 until his death in 1823. The first part of the inscription is cut in large straggling letters, "Mrs. Elizabeth Washington, June the 15th, 1751;" and one investigator thinks that the Rev. Thomas Washington himself did it.

Not far from the church in Warton is an old house known as the Washington House. It has been built over, but two dated stones high up between the second storey windows may easily be seen. "The stones," says Mr. Pape, "no doubt belong to an earlier building; but the Lancashire custom of utilizing the dated stones of the older building when a new house was being put up has been followed in this case. The stone to the right has the Tudor rose with the crown above

[2] One of this name and connection, son of Sir Thomas West, second Lord De la Warr, born November 30, 1592, died in Virginia between April, 1623, and February, 1624. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II. 1045, 1048.

and the initials, 'I. R.'; in the center is the date 1612; and below are the initials 'R. W. S.' The Rose and Crown and the date 1612 indicate that the top initials denote 'James Rex,' and the initials below refer to Robert Washington and his wife." Mr. Pape's Warton pamphlet is of unique interest and value, because it presents in greater and more careful detail than anything else known to me the Washington family history in its relation to Warton; and it is to be remembered that its relation to Warton was far longer than that to any other place in England.

Published at Morecambe in 1913, the pamphlet says in its preface: "the interest in these English ancestors of George Washington should be quickened from the fact that one of the schemes in the celebration of the Peace centenary, in December, 1914, is the purchase of Sulgrave Manor in the county of Northampton, the former home of the Washingtons, who migrated from Warton in the sixteenth century."

The purchase of Sulgrave Manor was soon an accomplished fact, and Mr. Pape's Sulgrave pamphlet was published by the Sulgrave Institution itself. I shall not here make any detailed summary of this pamphlet, because it relates to chapters of the Washington family history which are more familiar than those of the Warton period, and also because the Northamptonshire relations are the special subject of Rev. H. Isham Longden's work on the Washington family, which I shall consider, and to which Mr. Pape himself attaches such high value. Referring to a critical issue discussed by both Mr. Longden and himself, Mr. Pape says:

> Since Mr. Henry F. Waters in 1889 published his famous pamphlet, entitled *An Examination of the English Ancestry of George Washington, setting forth the evidence to connect him with the Washingtons of Sulgrave and Brington,* many new facts have come to light, all tending to confirm the main theory. Waters made out a pedigree in the highest degree probable, and lacking absolute certainty only on the two following points: First, having shown that Lawrence Washington of Virginia owned land near Luton, Bedfordshire, he lacked positive proof to identify him with the Lawrence, son of Lawrence Washington, baptized at Tring, Hertfordshire, in 1635. In the second place, having rendered it almost absolutely certain that the father of the three Washington children baptized at

Tring was a clergyman, he could not prove absolutely that the father was identical with the Lawrence Washington, M. A., son of Lawrence and Margaret Washington of Sulgrave and Brington, who was rector of Purleigh in Essex from 1633–1643.

These points Mr. Pape proceeds to discuss illuminatingly, although lacking the exact knowledge which Mr. Longden was soon to acquire. It was Mr. Pape who called my attention to Mr. Longden's book last summer, just after its publication, praising it in warm terms. Rev. H. Isham Longden, is rector of Heyford, in Northamptonshire, a few miles from the city of Northampton. His little book, *The History of the Washington Family,* was published early in the present year by W. Mark and Co., 27, The Drapery, Northampton, reprinted from *The Genealogists' Magazine.* It is a book of fifty-six pages, in six chapters, with sixteen pen-and-ink illustrations. Mr. Longden writes:

If Lancashire saw the beginnings of the story of the Washingtons, Northamptonshire traces more definitely their history as it enlarges. The town of Northampton and the villages of that county are proud to think that once among them dwelt the forbears of the first President of the United States of America. Northampton's chief Magistrate of 1532 lives again in the President of 1789. Northampton, whose citizens twice elected the first Lawrence Washington as their mayor; Sulgrave, where the family house still stands; Brington and Althorpe, East Haddon, Holdenby, Chipping Warden, Wicken, and Boddington; and further north, Thrapston and Islip, these all have something to tell of the family history — definite traces indeed, on which we delight to dwell. To those places we cordially welcome our cousins from across the sea; and we note and see in the names of Washington and Sulgrave a symbol and promise of an enduring union between two great peoples. For forty years and more, the genealogy of my native county of Northampton has been my study. With it the story of the Washingtons is closely interwoven. I was born and I live in the country-side of the Washingtons. Brington is my immediate neighbor. And there is the added interest of the actual relationship of my family with the Washingtons of Garsdon in Wiltshire. Indeed, we still possess a letter written before 1625, and sealed with the Washington arms, from Anne, wife of Sir Lawrence Washington, Knight, to her sister Judith, wife of Sir John Isham, Knight, of Lamport in Northamptonshire. Anne and Judith were daughters of William Lewyn of Otteringden in Kent, D. C. L.,

and a Judge of the Prerogative Court, whose seat was at no great distance from Maidstone, the Kentish home of Lawrence Washington the elder, father of Sir Lawrence. The two ladies were sisters of Sir Justinian Lewyn after whom each sister named a son. Justinian Washington was baptized in May, 1634, at Westbury in Buckinghamshire. Justinian Isham, the first of many Justinians in the Isham family, was baptized at Lamport, 3rd February, 1610–1. This Washington connection was not forgotten. In 1672, Sir Thomas Isham recorded, in the Latin diary of his boyhood, the marriage of 'our cousin Wassington's daughter," Elizabeth,[3] to Sir Robert Shirley, afterwards Earl Ferrers. Thus on personal as well as on general grounds, the genealogical spirit has constrained me to gather in every detail of interest which I could find relating to the Washingtons, whether in Northamptonshire or in other counties. The first of the name to leave his native Warton in Lancashire and settle in Northamptonshire was that Lawrence Washington whose descendant in the third generation was another Lawrence, rector of Purleigh in Essex, and father of the two emigrants to America.

It was in 1540 that Lawrence Washington obtained the grant of the Priory Land in Sulgrave; and Mr. Longden traces the history of the relations of the Washington family to Sulgrave for the ensuing seventy years during which it was the family home. Lawrence Washington's son, Robert Washington, lived on at Sulgrave, and was buried, like his father and mother, in the Sulgrave parish church. It was this Robert Washington's two sons, Lawrence and Robert, who established the family relations with Brington, between Sulgrave and Northampton. The Washington family, as is known, was connected with the aristocratic Spencer family of Althorp, adjoining Brington; and this second Robert Washington became a tenant of his Spencer kinsman. In 1606 the house generally known as the Washington house at Little Brington was built for him. He and his wife died in the same month, March, 1622–3, and were buried together in Brington church. Their memorial stone records: "They lived lovingly together for many years in this Parish." Robert's elder brother, our second Lawrence Washington, seems never to have resided at Brington, although he was buried in Great Brington church, December 15, 1616, three years before the

[3] Daughter of Lawrence Washington of Garsden, co. Wilts.

death of his father, Robert, at Sulgrave. The wife of this second Lawrence was Margaret, the elder daughter of William Butler of Tees in Sussex, and granddaughter of John of Aston-le-Walls and his wife Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir John Sutton. This marriage, as Mr. Longden notes, "gave to the Washingtons an illustrious ancestry;" and, as visitors to Great Brington church will recall, the covered cups of Butler are seen beside the Washington stars and bars on the memorial brass at Brington. A son, Gregory, was baptized and buried at Brington; but another son, George, was baptized in 1608 at Wormleighton in Warwickshire, a place of significance in the family history, as it was here that Lawrence's brother was married. I think this is the first time we come upon the name George Washington.

Lawrence Washington is more interesting to us than Robert, because he was the ancestor of our George Washington. His eldest son, Sir William, was the father of Colonel Henry Washington, who held Worcester for King Charles. His second son, Sir John Washington, was identified with Thrapston and Islip in Northamptonshire, and there is a stone in the Thrapston church with the Washington arms. A younger son, Lawrence, who became a fellow of Brasenose College, and in 1633 rector of Purleigh in Essex, was the father of John and Lawrence Washington who emigrated to Virginia.

Mr. Longden's chapter on Lawrence Washington, the rector of Purleigh, and father of George Washington's first American ancestor, is for us the most interesting chapter of his little book, although the whole work is valuable for its clear outline of a genealogy in which the succession of Lawrences, Roberts and Johns is somewhat confusing to one not familiar with it. It is the chapter too which makes his most important original contribution to the record. One of Mr. Waters' most important discoveries was the will of Andrew Knowling of Tring, in 1649–50, whose wife Anne, had been buried at Tring in 1637. This will names a son-in-law, William Roades, and three daughters-in-law (probably step-daughters, says Mr. Longden), Elizabeth Fitzherbert, Susan Billing, and Amphillis Washington. To Lawrence Washington, son of Amphillis, Andrew Knowling left his freehold land in Tring. He also

named five other children of hers, John, William, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Martha; and he appointed John Dagnall of Grove, in the parish of Tring, his overseer. Mr. Waters found that this John Dagnall took an oath before Mr. Lawrence Washington who was acting surrogate. Mr. Longden knew Mr. Waters. "I remember meeting him in the eighties," he says; "his was an impressive personality." Mr. Longden shows, as indeed Mr. Pape had done, that there was only one Mr. Lawrence Washington, Master of Arts, living in England in 1649, and that was the fellow of Brasenose College. He also settles the question, unanswered by Mr. Waters, as to who Amphillis Washington, the wife of this Lawrence Washington, was. Mr. Pape, he notes, "after a great and generous expenditure of time and trouble" had made a suggestion; but he shows that this suggestion was unfounded. Into the details of his own researches, leading to the conclusion that Amphillis was the daughter of John Twigden of Little Creaton in the parish of Spratton, Northamptonshire, a short distance from Brington, I shall not here enter. His argument seems to be conclusive. Mr. Pape so considers it, and Mr. Longden records with satisfaction in a note at the end of his book the confirmation of his view by a certain discovery recorded in an article by the late J. Gardner Bartlett and Mrs. Elizabeth French Bartlett in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1927.

The baptism of Amphillis [4] Twigden is recorded in the parish register of Spratton, February 2, 1601–2. The font at which she was baptized still exists, and a picture is given in Mr. Longden's book of the beautiful old Spratton church and its Norman doorway. Amphillis Twigden traced her descent in one line from the Spencers of Baddy, Northamptonshire, who were of the same stock as the Spencers of Althorp, who were thus kinsmen both of herself and her husband.

Lawrence Washington became rector of Purleigh in Essex in 1633, and was ejected from his rectory in 1643. The accusation was that he was "a common frequenter of alehouses," etc.; but the real reason was undoubtedly his sympathy with the royal cause. There is good evidence that he

[4] "Anuellis" in the register, a phonetic rendering of Amphillis.

was "a very worthy pious man." The patron of a small adjoining parish, gave him a church, "where he was suffered quietly to preach" — probably, Mr. Waters and Mr. Longden think, the parish of Little Braxted, Essex. He was buried January 21, 1652–3, in the churchyard of Maldon, Essex. Close by are the church and the beautiful old Elizabethan vicarage from which Lawrence Washington may have been carried to his last rest. After his death, his wife, Amphillis Washington, seems to have returned to Tring to find a home. There she had intimate associations; there she had come in the lifetime of her mother for the baptism of her children; there her mother and her stepfather had been buried, and there she was buried, January 19, 1654–5. Her son Lawrence, the younger of the two emigrants, who had been baptized at Tring in 1635, was not yet twenty at his mother's death.

Purleigh and Maldon in Essex are both ten or a dozen miles east of Chelmsford, well known to us as the last English parish of Thomas Hooker, from which place he came to New England.

Lawrence Washington, the son of the rector of Purleigh, is next found at Luton in Bedfordshire, and Mr. Longden devotes an entire chapter to the Luton chronicle. Lawrence Washington married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Jones of Luton in 1660. A daughter Mary was baptized at Luton in 1663 and a son Charles in 1665. The record of the baptism of this son, Mr. Longden thinks, has not been in print before. It proves that Lawrence Washington was in England in 1665. The burials of his wife and son are not in the register. Mr. Longden assumes that Lawrence emigrated to Virginia after their deaths. John Washington, who was two years older, preceded him, probably in 1656.

Mary Washington, the only surviving child of Lawrence by his first wife, was the only descendant of the two emigrants to Virginia remaining in England. She was brought up under the care of her grandfather, Edmund Jones, and married Edward Gibson, curate of Caddington, a parish adjoining Luton, a graduate and fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, who was ordained priest at Lincoln, September 20, 1685. He succeeded his father as vicar of Hawnes (now Haynes) in 1692, and,

dying May 11, 1732, aged seventy-one, was buried in 1732 in the chancel of Hawnes church. His wife had been buried in 1721. Edward Gibson and Mary Washington had six children, three baptized at Caddington and three at Hawnes. The first of the three children baptized at Hawnes (1691) was named George. He died in 1750. This is the second George in the record; although the surname is Gibson, and not Washington. I grew up with the notion that George Washington was named for George the Second, of memory blessed or otherwise, king of England in 1732. George seems to have been a family name. Whether determining or not in this case, I do not know. Under date of June 22, 1699, George Washington in Virginia wrote a letter to Mary Gibson, whom he had never seen. Mr. Waters, in his *Genealogical Gleanings*, gives us this letter stating that it was printed from a copy. Mr. Longden gives us a facsimile of the original letter, loaned him for the purpose by Rev. A. I. Gibson, vicar of Badon, Wiltshire; and incidentally he corrects certain errors in the Waters copy. The letter is a family treasure handed down for generations. Mr. Gibson's uncle was George Washington Gibson, a descendant in direct line from George Gibson, the son of Edward Gibson and Mary Washington. The perpetuation of the name in this English line is grateful; and the recent marked revival in England of Washington interest and study is indeed noteworthy.

Colonel Banks read a chapter on

William Bradford and the Pilgrim Quarter in London

At the last meeting of the Society Prof. Morison read a paper entitled "Did William Bradford leave Leyden before the Pilgrims?" in which he did me the honor to use it as a text for controverting certain conclusions which I had expressed in a published article entitled, "Heneage House — a Pilgrim Center in London." Prof. Morison informed me of his proposed attack on my discoveries and courteously sent me an advance copy of his paper to which I expected to reply at the last meeting when his was read. Owing to my enforced absence through illness, the controversy initiated by him loses

much of its quality and leaves me somewhat at a disadvantage, as I shall be obliged in reply, after this delay, to restate his criticisms in addition to my answer to them. The value of thrust and parry will thus be minimized.

As the official biographer of Gov. William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony in the forthcoming Dictionary of American Biography, he is quite within his rights in challenging anybody who casts new and strange lights on his subject and draws therefrom what he calls "startling conclusions." From my standpoint they are not startling, but rather commonplace. The history of the Pilgrims is subject to development as new discoveries are made, and part of these discoveries on which my thesis was largely based has been within the knowledge of historians for many years, though no one has seen fit to utilize it and investigate its possibilities. It has happened that during four years' research in England (which I devoted to investigating Pilgrim connections in England) it fell to my lot to learn a number of new facts about the Plymouth colonists and their English associations. I have already had the opportunity of reading two papers on the subject and I have material for others which may or may not involve startling conclusions, but they will afford evidence that the story of the Pilgrim Fathers, individually and collectively, is by no means a closed book. Here I may say that I have no answer to make to the title of Prof. Morison's paper: "Did William Bradford leave Leyden before the Pilgrims?" I have never made any statement covering such an inquiry, for I do not know when he left Leyden. Bradford himself leaves us in the dark about this. After setting forth the thesis of my original article which related to the Pilgrim center of activity in London, the members will have sufficient evidence on which they can answer Prof. Morison's question as to the time when William Bradford left Leyden. It has only an indirect relation to my discoveries.

It is difficult, and seemingly impossible for the average person brought up in the New England *Mayflower* tradition to dissociate the words Pilgrims and Leyden. They have the sanction of the oratory of two great celebrations, the bicentennial and the late tercentennial of the famous "Landing" on the equally famous "Rock," to say nothing of hundreds

Part of Aldgate Ward, London, 1560–1570

Showing the region of Heneage House, Aldgate, London Wall and St. Catherine Cree [Cry] Church, adjoining Duke's Place.

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on hundreds of post-prandial speeches imposed on Pilgrim descendants at annual banquets. To suggest that our Plymouth was more intimately connected with London people than with Leyden burghers invites raised eyebrows and an incredulous look. And yet it is a fact, capable of proof, that two-thirds of the passengers of the *Mayflower* came from London and its suburbs, and of the other third who sailed directly from Leyden, enough were of London origin, to enable us to say that about three-quarters of the "Pilgrim Fathers" came from the lanes, alleys and curious little courts found in the network of the great English metropolis. This is not my unsupported opinion alone. It was the general estimate of our late associate, Morton Dexter, as given in his exhaustive study, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims,* but his statistics have been ignored. There were only thirty-five out of the one hundred and one passengers of the *Mayflower* who came directly from Leyden to our Plymouth. Practically the entire list of passengers of the *Fortune,* the second Pilgrim ship, which arrived in 1621, were recruited from London, including Thomas Prence, who afterward became a Governor of the Plymouth Colony.

Winslow was born in London and was a printer there in 1618; Allerton was a London man; so were Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Digory Priest, the two Tilleys, Edward Dotey, John Howland and a dozen others I could name. London had its Separatist and Brownist conventicles at that time, numerically stronger than the little band led by Robinson and Brewster in Scrooby. London was then as now the nerve center of England. The great leaders of this religious insurrection inevitably drifted to London. In addition to this, many of the Leyden Church who did not emigrate were of London origin, but this fact disclosed by Dexter in his work on the Pilgrims has never been considered worth further investigation to understand its importance. If half the time heretofore spent on Scrooby had been devoted to London, we should have had a more comprehensive view of the entire Pilgrim problem.

And so it came about that I determined to make this the objective for such new facts as could be unearthed regarding this hitherto neglected field of Pilgrim history. As far

as I know, the work I did on the whole group was the first effort of its kind to trace each Pilgrim to his presumed home. In connection with this work which I undertook, William Bradford, who is rightly considered the historian of the Plymouth Plantation, has not been of the least help. If I were asked to express my estimate of his qualification I should say that as an historian he is an excellent attorney for the Leyden Church doctrines and defender of its personal adherents. If one wished to find in Bradford's History the name of the place where his band of Separatists were wont to meet before they migrated to Holland, he will hunt in vain, for Bradford does not mention it. If he wishes to know the name of the ship which brought the Pilgrims across the Atlantic, Bradford will not tell him. He does not tell us when the Pilgrims left Delftshaven in Holland and we are obliged to guess the date. He devotes a little more than two pages to an obituary notice of Elder Brewster but neglects to state his parentage, where he was born, his occupation or where he lived before removal to Holland; gives three lines to Brewster's famous printing press in Leyden (which will be his greatest claim to posthumous fame); says not a word about Brewster's secret trips to England when he was hunted in two countries for printing seditious books, nor does he let fall a syllable about Brewster's son who had abandoned his father's religious sect and returned to the Established Church. He ignores the presence of a surgeon on the *Mayflower*, leaving this interesting fact to be laboriously dug out piecemeal by present-day investigation, while he tells many particulars of the services rendered by his own Leyden associates; he omits to mention the manner of death of his first wife shortly after arrival at Provincetown harbor, while giving full particulars of nearly everybody else, even of the ordinary seamen hired to remain with them. I cite but a few examples of these strange omissions by the historian of the Plymouth Plantation, as it will indicate that Bradford cannot be relied on to give any information upon the question which Prof. Morison has raised. If it were not for Winslow, Mourt, Nathaniel Morton, and Hubbard, supplemented by Thomas Prince, who had access to the lost MSS. which Bradford did not use, we should lack much of the details and personalities

and events of that epochal movement. It would be a guess what proportion of his "Historie" is theological argumentation in support of his Leyden brethren against all and sundry and what is left as historical narrative. Winthrop's *Journal* is a model in comparison as a reservoir of facts, alleged and real.

To Bradford, however, we are indebted for a strange letter, which he painfully copied at length in his History, for the suggestive clue which makes London the background of the picture that I shall now unfold. It had only the most trivial bearing on the story of the Pilgrim movement and was doubtless incorporated by him merely to discredit one of his associates whom Bradford never forgave for effecting a compromise with the Merchant Adventurers by which the voyage of 1620 was made possible. This letter, written by Cushman, then on the *Speedwell* lying in Dartmouth harbor undergoing repairs for leaks, was thus superscribed: "To his loving friend Ed: Southworth at Henige House, in the Dukes Place . . . these." Here we have an unchallenged statement that Edward Southworth, an original Leyden church member since 1610, was living in Heneage House, London, in 1620. It has been before historical students for seventy years but, as far as I am aware, no one has followed the clue contained in it. Standing alone it is not an astounding fact, unless we can show who Edward Southworth was in the cast of characters in this drama. He belonged to the Bradford-Brewster-Carver-Robinson group as a resident of Nottinghamshire in a hamlet adjoining Sturton-le-Steeple, the home of Robinson, and was thus intimately associated with them from the migration to Holland until his death in 1623. He is an important side-light in illuminating this problem. He was by marriage a brother-in-law of George Morton who went over in the *Fortune*.

Only eight miles separated Austerfield (the home of Bradford) and Sturton-le-Steeple and he was doubtless one of Bradford's close friends. Prof. Morison thinks Southworth was a recent arrival at Heneage House in the Dukes Place in 1620, but the last record of Southworth in Leyden was 1613 — seven years prior to his appearance in London — and it is just as fair to say that he must have lived somewhere except

Leyden in the intervening years. At all events, it was to his residence that Robert Cushman, one of the several agents of the Pilgrims in London, addressed this interesting letter, doubtless where it would be read and seen by interested associates, and this letter is the basis of my thesis that the Pilgrims had a London rendezvous in a definite quarter of that city in 1620 and probably earlier. The evidence is direct and circumstantial. Cushman's letter is of no other historical significance. It was simply the wail of a man about the hardships of the trip from Southampton to Dartmouth, the fears of a leaky boat, and of a man whose courage, like that of Bob Acres, was oozing out at his fingers' ends. Cushman's letter also contained another corroborative fact: he sent his "kind remembrance" to "loving E. M." The editor of the Society's edition of Bradford considers these initials as those of Experience Mitchell, who, in 1623, accompanied Mrs. Southworth to Plymouth when she went thither to marry Bradford. Every other commentator agrees with Mr. Ford and thus we have another Leyden church member connected with Heneage House. Not only that, but he was a son of Thomas Mitchell who was a countryman of Dorothy May, the first wife of Bradford; they were both natives of Cambridgeshire, and both were connected with the Amsterdam and Leyden congregations.[1]

As a matter having a collateral significance bearing on the question of Bradford's residence in London, is his marriage to Mrs. Southworth in Plymouth in 1623. The Southworths presumably left Leyden shortly after 1610 as stated above. Mrs. Bradford was drowned in Provincetown harbor in December 1620. Mr. Southworth died in London in 1622. Mrs. Southworth came to Plymouth by the first available ship, the *Anne,* in 1623, and immediately married Bradford. There was little chance of communication then between Plymouth and London by which pre-nuptial arrangements could be ar-

[1] There must have been something more than ordinary friendly relationship between the Mitchells and Mays, suggestive of kinship. In 1662, forty years after his arrival in Plymouth, Experience Mitchell was in correspondence with a member of the May family then residing in Amsterdam. (*Pilgrim Notes and Queries,* III. 102). This definitely links up Mrs. Dorothy (May) Bradford and Experience Mitchell, and gives further weight to the appearance of Mitchell in London when Bradford came to the Dukes Place.

ranged on short notice. It must be evident that their mutual acquaintance was effected in London at Heneage House and that the deaths of husband and wife, found both widower and widow ready to enter their new marriage relationship. It can hardly be supposed that they were casual acquaintances on her arrival in Plymouth with her two minor sons who became wards of Governor Bradford.

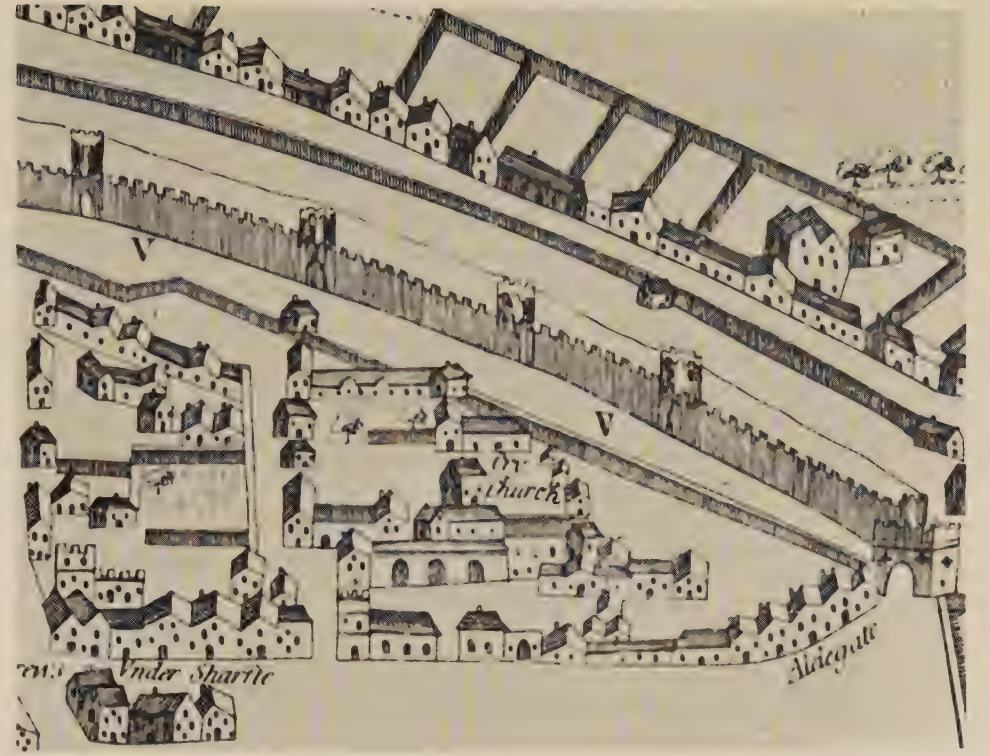
I, therefore, advance the proposition that Heneage House in the Dukes Place in the East End of London was in a definite area where not only Edward Southworth, a Leyden Pilgrim lived, but around him a number of his Leyden associates (certainly Cushman and Mitchell), and that this locality was in fact identified specifically with the Separatist movement of that day. It will, therefore, be necessary to turn to the maps of London of that period covering that defined district. On what I consider ample documentary and circumstantial evidence, William Bradford had a personal association with Dukes Place in 1620 in addition to others whom I shall name. Mr. Morison remarked (though he did not print) that "Articles and books have been written to prove that they, or some of them, were Radicals, Conservatives, Irishmen, Dutchmen, cooks' sons and dukes' sons. It seems timely to question this theory, before we find the Pilgrims described as London cockneys and shopkeepers, instead of the simple yeomen and artisans that they were." In view of the fact that Dr. Dexter found that the Pilgrims in Leyden were engaged in over fifty different manual occupations to earn a living it seems unimportant whether shopkeeping was added to this list of humble service. As Bradford himself was a fustian weaver I see no reason to discuss the social status of these simple people. It has no bearing on where they originated or where they lived.

How did it happen that Edward Southworth when he left Leyden selected the Aldgate Ward as a residence? The Bishop of London can answer that question, because in a trial before the High Court of Commission he spoke of Aldgate as a rendezvous for Separatists and Brownists. It had long been the habitation of Hollanders, and Southworth knew that he would find acquaintances from Leyden or other parts of Holland who were, to all intents and purposes, members

of the Dutch Church which had welcomed him and Bradford to Holland. A Dutch church was already established in the Minories just south of Aldgate. In 1617 there were twenty-seven members of the Dutch congregation living in Dukes Place. (Register Dutch Church, x. 47), In the following year a list of "Straungers residing and dwelling within the City of London" furnished information regarding the nativity, nationality and length of residence of these aliens in London. In this list are found fifty-nine Dutch or Huguenot foreigners residing in the Dukes Place (Public Record Office, S. P. Dom. James I, vol. 102). In the subsidy three years later fifty-three aliens with Dutch names are recorded as residents of Dukes Place. Some of the women enumerated had become the wives of Englishmen (P. R. O. Subsidy 147/499 19 James I). In the following year (1622) a list of fifteen alien "joiners, ceilers and carvers" with Dutch names were living in Dukes Place (S. P. Dom. James I, CXXVIII 60/1). It will thus be seen that Heneage House, where Southworth found quarters, was almost in foreign territory and he was literally again among people with whose manners, customs and religious leanings he was familiar.

As a locality inhabited at that time by foreign Protestants and English Separatists it never lost its character as a center of Nonconformity. Out of it grew the famous Bury Street Congregational Church situated in the rear of Heneage House. A more sympathetic neighborhood could not have been chosen by Bradford for temporary residence after he had sold his Leyden property.

Another significant fact is that within a stone's throw in the other direction was Ironmongers' Hall, the Company to which Thomas Weston, the chief Merchant Adventurer who organized the Pilgrim voyage, belonged. Its proximity made it convenient for Weston to hold conferences with the Pilgrims who came to London prior to the sailing of the *Mayflower*. Conferences could be held in the hall of the Ironmongers' Guild and provide the privacy which was necessary for their business. In stating that Heneage House was the Pilgrim headquarters in London I use the word in its widest sense, not suggesting that they had an office with a sign in front and other paraphernalia of an Emigration Society, but



Part of Aldgate Ward, 1620

The region of Heneage House as it appeared to the Pilgrims, from a contemporary map of London. Details of buildings are uniformly generalized. That of Heneage House follows the earlier representation.

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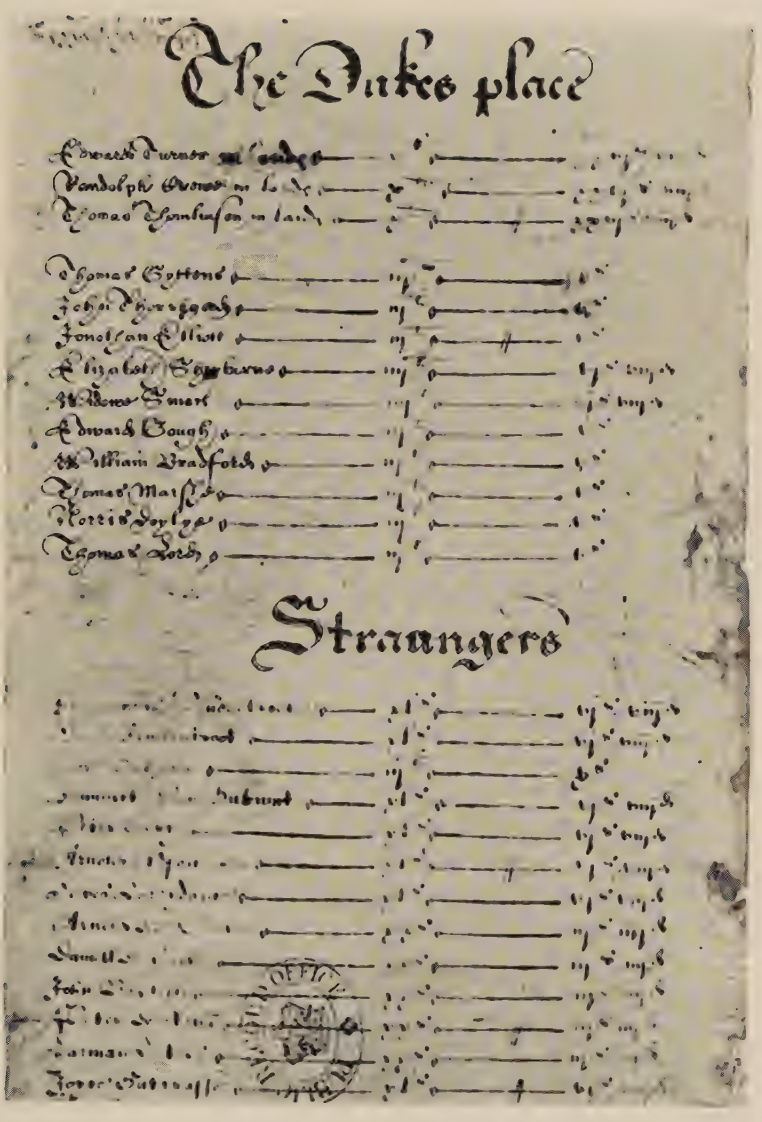
that it was in its essential sense a center and clearing house of Pilgrim activities.

From my standpoint William Bradford is only a part of a complete picture. He is not the central figure but he merely stepped into a situation which existed long before he removed to London. In Leyden he was only one of a half dozen of the prominent persons connected with the Church there before removal. Negotiations for this transfer from Leyden to any place in the Western Hemisphere up to the spring of 1619 had proceeded far and they were so eager to leave that some of them "put of their estates" in Leyden, and Mr. Morison has furnished me with the most important evidence that sustains my position. I had forgotten that William Bradford was one of those who sold his property in Leyden in April, 1619, and I am obliged to him for being able to include it among my proofs. If it be necessary to answer Mr. Morison's question the ordinary answer would be that he left Leyden shortly after he sold his house. Robert Cushman also sold his the same year and when the negotiations with the Virginia Company broke down those who had sold "were brought into a greate streighte." Having sold his house in Leyden, William Bradford had to live somewhere with his wife and young son and the sequence of his movements is in line with what I discovered, namely, that William Bradford is found in the Dukes Place in March, 1620, where his Pilgrim friends resided, as is shown by the subsidy of that month and year. Bradford was forehanded in anticipating removal from Leyden and disposing of his property in advance. It is the opinion of Dexter that Brewster left Leyden in the summer of 1619 and did not return there before the voyage to America. Had I found the name of William Bradford in a section of London remote from this Pilgrim quarter I doubt if I should have given it more than passing attention, because London was then a metropolis of many hundred thousand inhabitants.

Mr. Morison thinks it strange that neither Southworth nor any other Pilgrim appears in this subsidy of 1620 in Dukes Place. This is a criticism that does not take into account the nature of a subsidy and the kind of people who were taxed. The subsidy roll shows that thirteen persons were taxed in

Dukes Place, three for land and ten for goods. William Bradford was taxed for "goods" only, probably those that he brought from Leyden, including his stock of woven cloth. Bradford was always well-to-do financially, there and in America. There were fifty-nine aliens charged for poll-tax in this subsidy. To suppose for a moment that this taxing district only contained thirteen persons is too absurd to answer. The subsidy was a national tax assessed on persons having a sufficient amount of property to make it worth the expense of collecting. The small dwellers in tenements in London were never included in this, but their names are found by the hundred in the parish Rate Books for local taxation. I have no way of determining the population of Dukes Place, but in those swarming tenements of that district there must have been several thousand residents. I have a subsidy of the city of Bristol in 1620 — the second largest city in England containing several hundred thousand people — and how many do you suppose were taxed in the subsidy? Two hundred and seventy-eight! To argue that the name of Edward Southworth does not appear is to ignore the usual knowledge about the appearance of names on subsidies. The place to find him is in the Church Wardens' accounts of St. Catherine Cree, the parish church of Dukes Place where every dweller in the district is charged for the "poor rates" in that parish. To find Bradford's name in the same taxing district where his old friends, the Southworths, lived and whence so many Leyden Pilgrims came, is something more than a coincidence, yet Mr. Morison would have you discredit this on the ground that it was probably some other William Bradford. To fortify this criticism he must throw the doctrine of chances into the scrap-heap, and furnish evidence that a convenient William Bradford of Somewhere came to Dukes Place to save the real William from this natural association. He states that William Bradford was a very common name in England in 1620. I do not know on what Mr. Morison founded his opinion as to the commonness of the name of William Bradford in 1620. Every test I have been able to make distinctly negatives such an assumption. In the alphabetical calendars of wills in all England from 1558 to 1658 of 145,000 altogether the name of William Bradford occurs but five times in that



Subsidy Roll, 1620, P. R. O., London

Showing the name of William Bradford (tenth from the top), taxed for "goods," as a resident of Aldgate Ward.

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century. I have in my library manuscript copies of the subsidies for twenty entire counties of England, London excepted, in the Pilgrim period, covering lists of subsidiaries comprising in the total over 100,000 names, out of which there were found but two persons bearing the name of William Bradford. In a copy of a manuscript found in the Lambeth Palace Library containing a list of every householder in London in 1638 in the one hundred and two parishes of that city containing the names of 18,000 males, the name of Bradford occurs twice, but no William. In about 14,000 marriage licenses issued by the Bishop of London for a period of three centuries the name of William Bradford does not once occur, and yet William is one of the three commonest Christian names in the Pilgrim period in England. Thus out of over a quarter of a million names selected at random from easily available lists William Bradford is found but seven times in the course of several centuries. Mr. Morison has probably confused its frequency in this country with its rare occurrence in England, and he asks me to regard the name of William Bradford in the Dukes Place in 1620 as an accidental William who slipped in there at a particular moment and disappeared in the same manner, for the name of William Bradford does not occur in the subsidy previous to 1620 nor in the one following it. Thus this supposititious William enacted a curious parallel to that of the real William in appearing suspiciously in 1620 and then disappearing. As a part of my plan of research I examined in the Public Record Office, London, every subsidy of that city that was legible, in the Pilgrim period — 1600–1620 — and I can say that nowhere else than in this particular subsidy did I find the name of a William Bradford.

But, as Mr. Morison points out, William Bradford was in Leyden on June 10 and July 14, 1620, and, therefore, he argues that Bradford could not have resided in London at Dukes Place between April, 1619, and June, 1620. This seems to me a forced inference. Traffic between the Thames and the Zuyder Zee was probably the most frequent and constant foreign business of English traders overseas. The Dutch were their closest allies. Bradford gives ample evidence that at this period messengers were constantly going

back and forth. It was a time of anxious consultation. The trans-Atlantic voyage had been decided for that year. The trip to Holland was a short one in summer. Bradford himself describing it said: "With a prosperous winde they came in a short time to Southampton," which was a longer sea voyage than to London.

But Mr. Morison did not explain why William Bradford was in Leyden on July 24, 1620. The explanation is very simple. The man who had bought Bradford's house had failed to make a payment of one hundred guilders due in May, 1620. Naturally, as time was short, Bradford returned to Leyden to collect the instalment which was overdue. He failed to secure the money and, as a necessity, gave a power of attorney to two of his friends to receive it when the mortgagor fulfilled his obligation. It was Bradford's last chance to close up his affairs in Holland before sailing.

I see no objection to his remaining there for the ensuing few weeks to assist in the final work of embarkation, but Mr. Morison thinks that if my discovery of Bradford in London is accepted "his (Bradford's) moving description of the departure from Delftshaven was not written from personal observation." To this I must reply that historians do not necessarily participate in every scene they describe and if it be more important to salvage a few paragraphs of emotional writing than it is to establish a new fact in Pilgrim annals, then is he justified in rejecting the substance for the shadow.

Perhaps the best answer to this objection will be to give an example from Bradford himself showing what he could do, and did do, in the way of "absent treatment" in historical narration. I turn to that part of his *History* which describes the final departure of the Pilgrims from England, after previous failures. It will be remembered that the master of the vessel which they had chartered, fearful of seizure by the English officials, put to sea after most of the men were aboard, leaving their wives and children behind to shift for themselves. The ship was driven across the North Sea by a "fearfull storme" which lasted nearly two weeks before they reached their destination. The terror of the passengers in this plight, their prayers for safety and their final deliverance are told at length by Bradford in thrilling language, which implies personal par-

ticipation in this dreadful experience. " But to return to the others wher we left," continues Bradford. He then describes in equally picturesque language the lamentations of the wives and children thus deserted and left helpless on the inhospitable strand, driven from town to town by unsympathetic catch-poles and parish beadles. His account of their pitiful situation seems to be that of an actual participant, and we are at a loss to decide whether he was at one and the same time buffeting the waves off the Norway coast or comforting forlorn wives and fatherless children on the sand dunes of Lincolnshire.

But a careful reading of Bradford's description of the solemn parting at Delftshaven makes it clear that he must be bowed out of the picture as a personal observer of that scene. He wrote: " The next day, (at Delftshaven), they wente aborde, *and their friends with them,* where truly dolfull was the sight of that sadd and mournfull parting." [2] In these words Bradford clearly states that the " parting " took place on board. Winslow gives a different version in his detailed description of the scene in the following clearly defined statement:

> They accompanyed us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part; *but wee onely going aboard* (the ship lying to the key) and ready to set sayle, (the winde being faire) we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of Ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other . . . we departed.[3]

Bradford says the parting took place " on board," while Winslow specifically contradicts him saying " wee onely going aboard " (i.e., the Pilgrims), giving other minute details which make it evident that Winslow was present in person and his account is the more probable. The *Speedwell* was a small boat and her decks undoubtedly were crowded with the household effects of the voyagers, and the quay was the natural and more convenient place for this solemn ceremony. In view of the previous evidences that Bradford was then living in London it is probable that he wrote this part of his history from hearsay.

Bradford left behind, somewhere in 1620, a son about five

[2] *History,* I. 125. [3] *Hypocrisie Unmasked,* 91.

or six years old named John, when the *Mayflower* sailed. What more likely place to leave him than with his old friends, the Southworths, in London? Brewster left three children to come later in the *Fortune,* 1621, and the *Anne,* 1623. As I stated in the beginning, I have not undertaken to advance more than the thesis of a Pilgrim centre in a neighborhood in London where well-known members of that Church lived and where I have endeavored to show that one of them — William Bradford — was also found. I do not know exactly when any of them came or left; they were all unimportant people, of no particular social status, and to find out anything about them — even the most trivial reference — is a marvel of good fortune. It is necessary to pick up and put together bits of circumstantial evidence, which is good enough in law to hang people and ought to be good enough for matters of lesser importance in historical deductions.[4]

I will not expend further time in discussing some of the minor issues raised by him, for they would not settle the question even if they prevailed. It is less a question of the significance of adverbs, of plural or singular nouns, or interpretation of some of Bradford's obscure phrases, than the value of the entire picture, the component parts of which are consistent throughout with the conclusions I have drawn from my researches. Pilgrim history is not a finished book. New facts are coming to light constantly. They will upset long accepted beliefs, and possibly tilt some well adjusted halos. I expect to add some ammunition to this desirable end. If I may use a homely illustration — we have been chewing the same old cud over and over, from the same literary stomach, and it will improve our historical digestion if we have some fresh pabulum to change the flavor.

Mr. NORCROSS supplied from his collection the following two letters:

[4] As an example of this suggestive kind of evidence to show an association of Heneage House with persons connected with the Pilgrims, I mention that Emanuel Altham, one of the Merchant Adventurers, and a friend of the Pilgrims, who came to Plymouth in 1623, with Mrs. Southworth and Experience Mitchell, was a "neere kinsman" by marriage to Edward Turner, the owner of Heneage House. Taken by itself this is not a startling piece of information, but it is corroborative of other like bits that connect the whole.

William Cushing to George Washington [1]

Boston, November the 17th, 1789.

On Saturday the 24th of October, at Taunton, while on our circuit, I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 30th of September last, with a commission for the office of an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Decency and duty would have prompted an earlier answer, but that two of our state courts, at Cambridge and Salem, remaining to conclude the business of the year, Judge Sewall,[2] who was appointed to the office of district judge thought with me, that two immediate resignations might have endangered the falling through or a distant adjournment of those courts, to the public inconvenience and the injury of individuals; which I doubt not therefore you will approve as an apology for [my delay.]

You condescend, Sir, to consider the Judicial System as the chief pillar of our national government, and kindly to say, that you have nominated to that department such men as you conceived would give dignity and lustre to our national Character. I should be glad if my poor abilities could in any measure give ground for such a hope with respect to myself; but I beg leave to say, that my wish has been from the beginning, to have such a national government as shall effectually secure the union, the authority, the peace and prosperity of these States. And since you have been pleased to express a desire of my ready acceptance of the office, I do now, with the greater confidence, but hoping for your [support] of which I shall stand in need, declare my acceptance of it.

I must take the liberty to express my regret, that I could not have the honor of paying my respects to you at Boston and joining publickly in the universal joy occasioned by your honoring these northern States with a visit; owing to a bad cold joined to the foulness of the weather the Monday and Tuesday after your arrival here. Without troubling you, Sir, with [my] sense of the great things you thought it your duty to do and suffer for us during the war, I shall only add my hearty wish that you may long preside over [*torn*] thereby continue to render happy [the] people of America. I have the [honor] to be with the deepest respect, Sir, [your] obedient obliged humble Servant,

Wm. [Cushing.]

[1] From a draft endorsed: "My letter to the President of the U. S. 17th November, 1789."

[2] David Sewall (1735–1825).

WILLIAM CUSHING TO INCREASE SUMMER

PHILADELPHIA, Janÿ. 15th, 1798

DEAR SIR, — I left your letter to Mrs. Witherspoon [3] with President Smith [4] at Princetown and intend on my return in the Spring to call for the answer. We had pretty Smart cold weather after we left you, at Providence a week and so on generally till we arrived here on the 24th Decr., making a Stop a week, as usual, at Middletown and another week at Newyork, waiting for a good time over Powles hook ferry, the general dread of the journey in winter. To ballance good and bad together, we found, cold weather made good, hard, smooth roads. Since our arrival, the Season has been rather moderate and relaxed. Some rains, wet streets, the police not so good as it should be, in one respect; instead of shoveling off the snow from the sidewalks as soon as it comes, of which we have had some inches once, it is left to thaw and freeze, and render the walking disagreeable for some length of time. As to spending time, besides walking a mile or two every day for exercise, There's the rotine of Newspapers, reading a little law upon cases in hand, seeing and being seen by Members of Congress, Levees once a week, tuesdays 3 O'C[lock] drawing room once a fortnight. I have not been in Congress yet, there being nothing at present extra. to be heard or to call forth eloquence and talents. Those are to rest till the 5 Feby., to which the affair relative to arming vessels, is adjourned; to await the Success of our Commission at Paris; of which those who are knowing and nearer the Spot, think there is no hope. They may think proper to lull us along with Flattering appearances, while playing a destructive game upon us. They think themselves sure of a majority in one branch. 'Tis said that Sieyès, whose name (since the purge given by the minority to the majority by aid of the military) has peeped out again among the Committee of Safety of the Council of 500, and Merlin de Douai, who is in the directory in place of Carnot expelled and banished, will attempt every thing against this Country. It seems the body of the people of Fr[ance] who are so free, look on with as much passive Submission on whatever goes forward in old Monarchical times, as upon every successive wonderful revolution and massacre projected and perpetrated by their knowing and intriguing Ones.

The world seems turning round again, besides on its axis, perhaps to be overturned by the spirit of democracy. Troubles

[3] Ann Dill, whom he married in 1791.

[4] William Smith (1727–1803), provost of the college in Philadelphia.

brooding between Fr[ance] and Spain. Indeed the K[ing] of Sp[ain] might as well make a compliment of his head at once as permit a Sansculotte Army to pass through his dominions. K[ing] of Pr[ussia] dying or altering his politicks or leaving them to a Successor.

Mr. M. has wrote a great book to prove his patriotism by giving the Fr[ench] leave to plunder his Countrymen; [5] And Coxe [6] is said to be writing another for like purposes — etc.

Permit me to present Mrs. Cushings and my sincere regards and respects to you and Mrs. Sumner and the Young Ones. Your Excellencys Affectionate and Obedt,

WM. CUSHING.

MR. FORD presented a note on

WASHINGTON'S MAP OF THE OHIO

In October, 1753, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Washington, then a young man of twenty-one years, to the Ohio to protest against the encroachments of the French on territory claimed by the English. More than one colony was threatened by this trespass, but Dinwiddie acted more promptly than others and he claimed from them a policy of non-interference on the ground that he had sent "a person of distinction," a form of statement sufficient to win the confidence of the neighboring colonies. One might speculate on the opinion of the other governors had they known the age and even the previous experience, or inexperience, of this youth, barely beyond his majority. An empire was at stake, already known to trappers and also to land companies, intent upon securing the best locations in their grants. Certainly, Dinwiddie might know his agent, already mature in judgment for his years and not ignorant of what the west offered to Virginia and Pennsylvania, enough of a prize to come to blows upon and lost to the English should the French maintain their occupancy.

Washington kept a journal of his mission, of no literary form, but a plain statement of what he saw, did, and thought.

[5] James Monroe's *A View of the Conduct of the Executive,* which had appeared early in December, 1797.

[6] Tench Coxe (1755–1824) who published in 1794, *View of the United States of America, in a Series of Papers* [1787–1794].

He was modest about the record, hastily thrown together from the rough notes he had made on the journey. "There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this," he wrote in the *Advertisement*. "Those things which came under the Notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of: — Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several Intelligencers, and selected from the whole, the most probable and consistent Account." On his return he prepared this expanded or arranged journal and, without his knowledge, it was sent by the Governor to the printer at Williamsburg. The edition could not have been large, for the book is extremely rare. It was reprinted in London, with a map, by T. Jefferys, and the English issue is by no means a common book. In the Brinley sale, in 1880, a fine copy of the Williamsburg edition, which had once belonged to Richard Peters, sold for $560, and a perfect copy of the London edition brought $80. In 1868 the book was reprinted by Joseph Sabin, with a map and in an edition of fifty copies on large paper and two hundred and fifty on small paper.

Governor Dinwiddie, before the book had appeared from the Williamsburg press, as he was in duty bound, sent a manuscript copy of the Journal to his superiors in England. It was the custom to send by different vessels two copies of all official communications, so that if one was lost the second would reach its destination, a precaution found to be of service even in time of peace. For mails and packet service were still in their infancy and in a time of war as many as five or six copies would be prepared and dispatched at intervals. The Journal was transcribed by Dinwiddie's secretary upon extra large sheets of thin white paper, in a writing and appearance well known to any one who has seen the Dinwiddie Papers, given to the Virginia Historical Society by the Washington banker, William W. Corcoran. I was not surprised, therefore, to find in the Public Records Office, London, this official copy of Washington's Journal, and it would not have yielded any returns worth the time and trouble, had I examined the sheets line by line and compared them with the London printed version. The letter transmitting the copy

added nothing to our information, though it might have been well to have taken note of the date of receipt, for future reference. Some weeks later I came upon a second manuscript copy, by the same hand and on the same kind of paper as the first, and experienced a sense of boredom in the sixty or seventy leaves of purely duplicate material. In turning over the whole, however, I felt a stiffness which could not belong to that quality of paper and on seeking the cause I found in the middle of the document four leaves of stiff cardboard which had been treated also, as I remember, by the repairer. On opening the folds I discovered the original map of the Ohio region prepared by Washington for his report, and as beautiful an example of his draughtsmanship as I have ever seen. The legends are in his surveying hand and this may account for its not having been recognized as his handiwork. Certainly others must have seen the piece in their investigations, but so far as I know no one has even noted its existence or identified its author. I count it as an interesting bit of Washingtoniana and worthy to be reproduced. This has been done by the Oxford University Press and gives us a perfect copy of the original.

It would be interesting to discover what map or maps of the western country Washington had at hand when he prepared this plan. Certainly not Jefferys', which is also reproduced for comparison and which is not known to have been specially prepared for the London edition of the *Journal*. The Washington draft is in better detail, especially for the part he visited and where he could give more careful attention to the post so coveted by two nations. Not only did Fort Du Quesne play an important part in training Washington for command in the War for Independence, but this map, with its connection of the Ohio with the Potomac River by a path which the young messenger followed, shows how he could have then felt a possible actual and permanent connection of the rivers and thus have foreshadowed the later canal and river improvements of which Washington was a leading spirit. Altogether the map possesses historical as well as personal interests. The exact location of Gist's new settlement, apparently of three houses, the village of Queen Aliguippa or Aliquippa, and Frazier's trading post are shown, and other towns,

or more probably traders' huts, are named and at least placed in their proper relations. Strict accuracy is not to be expected — the range of mountains, for example, runs very curiously — but for reference in connection with the Journal the Washington map is much better than the Jefferys.

The Journal was printed in the *Maryland Gazette* of March 21 and 28, 1754, and was copied into the *Boston Gazette,* from April 16 to May 21, 1754. The Maryland newspaper introduced the Journal as follows: "*The Storm arising in the* West, *being the present Topic of Conversation, we think we cannot oblige our Readers, at this juncture, with any thing more entertaining than Major* Washington's *Journal to* Ohio, *who was sent last Fall, by the Governour of* Virginia, *to the Commandant of the* French *Forces there.*" It is possible that the abridged form printed in the *London Magazine* was not derived from an official source, but was based on one of the newspaper versions. A copyist in the office of the Board of Trade or of the Secretaries of State would hardly have made the error of turning *Gist* to *Giff.* As one of the copies of the *Journal* had been sent by Dinwiddie on January 29,[1] it would have reached London in time for publication in the *Magazine.* Had it been given out from office of government, the *London Gazette* would have been the proper medium.

Extracts from Washington's *Journal* were printed in the *London Magazine* for June, 1754, accompanied by a map of a single page, entitled "A Map of the Western Parts of the Colony of Virginia." It was engraved by J. Gibson and is the only map in the volume that is signed.[2] Like other illustrations it was "For the London Magazine 1754" testifying to its special production, and was "Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater Noster Row," the publisher of the periodical. The map is not based upon the Washington manuscript, bearing no resemblance to it in form or in legends. Nor could it have been drawn from Lewis Evans' "Map of Pensilvania," etc., published in 1749, which gave no details west of the "Endless Mountains." Evans prepared a new map of much wider plan

[1] *Dinwiddie Papers,* I. 93.

[2] The three maps of the American colonies in the *London Magazine* for 1755 are probably by the same engraver and after the same unknown designer.

For the London Magazine 1754.

Printed for R. BALDWIN, in Pater Noster Row.

than his first and published it in 1755. In the same year it appeared in London as "improved by J. Gibson," but the wide differences in names forbid the possibility of Gibson's having seen in 1754 a platform or draught of Evans' later map. The fact that the country was outlined to the Mississippi River suggests a French source, but I have found no French map which helps to solve the problem of origin.

The map of the *London Magazine* thus stands alone, but the English edition of Washington's *Journal* advertised on its title, "A New Map of the Country as far as the Mississippi." The London publisher of the *Journal* was Thomas Jefferys, the map maker,[3] who issued in 1755 Jefferson and Fry's map of Virginia, engraved by himself. It would not seem a serious liability to assume that the map which went into the *Journal* was also of his making. My story would have ended at this point but for an accidental discovery. The map of the printed *Journal,* reproduced in this volume, is taken from the copy of the book in the British Museum. It would be safe to say that a copy in such a place, situated in the city of publication, would be of undoubted authenticity and the best evidence on the original form of issue. In the John Carter Brown Library is a copy of the *Journal* in the London edition and the map agrees with that in the British Museum. But the Providence collection has a copy of the Williamsburg edition of the *Journal,* into which some collector has inserted a copy of the Jefferys map, but an impression showing marked differences from the two identical maps in the London issue.

The most obvious difference, one sufficient to identify the maps, is found in the legend in the lower right hand corner of the map. I give the two versions in parallel:

B. M. (London)	J. C. B. (Williamsburg)
Shanopins *are those named* Chaouanons *in the French Maps,* Shanaws *&* Shanoah *in this Map. The* Shawanons *are the same with* y^e Senekas *one of the Six Nations.*	Shanopins *are those named* Chaouanons *in the French Maps,* Shanaws *&* Shanoah *in this Map. The* Shawanons *are the same with* y^e Satanas

Upon taking a census of the copies of the London issue of the *Journal* in the leading libraries I found that the Satanas

[3] The *Journal* is not listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* among Jefferys' publications.

version was in the New York Public Library (two copies), New York Historical Society (two copies); the Senekas version is found in the Library of Congress and William L. Clements Library; and while the copies in the Boston Athenæum, Pennsylvania Historical Society and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are of the Senekas impression, the words " Senekas one of the Six Nations " have been corrected by pen to the single word " Satanas." The Henry E. Huntington Library has two copies of the *Journal,* in one of which (the Church copy) is the Satanas map, and in the other (the Stevens copy) is the Senekas version. In the reproduction for his reprint Sabin used the Satanas map, but without indication of where the original used then was.

Which is the earlier map? It is strange that the Senekas map was clearly the first made, though it would be logical to assert that a change from Senekas to Satanas was hardly possible as a serious correction. The proof of time relation is found in the larger number of names found on the Satanas map, none of which occur in the Senekas map. These new names are: Rapahanok R, Shannando R, Fluvanna R, James R, Staunton R, [illegible] or Roanoke, Dan R, Denonville F, Powtewatamis, F. Ponchartrain or le Destroit, and Miamis R. The course of the Arkansea R has been altered and mountains were inserted near the Kanavagan R. If, then, the Senekas is the earlier form, it was engraved a sufficient time before the *Journal* appeared to admit of the additions. Yet why should " Senekas one of the Six Nations " be altered to " Satanas " ? And why should the two versions have been used when the title expressly announced " a new map," presumably specially prepared for this London issue? In no volume or Atlas of maps published by Jefferys did he include either form of this particular map.

On names of Indian tribes there is no equal authority to Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Heye Foundation. In answer to my question he wrote:

> The author of the legend on the map of the western parts of Virginia was confused.
>
> Shanopins is for *Shannopin's Town* of the Delaware Indians, which occupied part of the site of the present Pittsburgh at least

from 1730 to 1753, and was so named from the chief, who died between 1749 and 1751.

The names Chaouanons, Shanaws, Shanoah, and Shawanons are synonymous with *Shawnee,* derived from Shawŭnagi, signifying "Southerners." The Senekas (Senecas) were, of course, one of the Six Nations of Iroquois. Cadwalader Colden, in his *History of the Five Nations,* p. 23, ed. 1747, mentions the "Satanas": probably this was the source of the change in your map of about 1755 [1754]. Satanas seems to be a misprint of Sabanas, i.e., Savanas, Savannas, Savannahs, as the Shawnee tribal name was variously spelled. The "Satanas" were certainly not the Senecas.

Turning to the reference in Colden we find: "Their *Sachems* [of the Five Nations], in order to raise their People's Spirits, turned them against the *Satanas,* a less warlike Nation, who then lived on the Banks of the Lakes; for they found it was difficult to remove the Dread their People had of the Valour of the *Adirondacks.* The Five Nations soon subdued the Satanas, and drove them out of their Country." And in a foot note Colden says of the Satanas: "They are called *Shaouonons* by the *French,* and live now on one of the Banks of the *Mississipi.*" This confirms Mr. Hodge's conjecture on the source of the legend on the map. Colden's *History* contains a map, evidently prepared for the volume which appeared in 1747, or seven years before the Washington *Journal.*[4] There is nothing in Colden's map that suggests any borrowing from it by Jefferys.

How far was the Jefferys map a copy of the Gibson plan in the *London Magazine?* The misspelling of names is the same on both, as are the figures of distances. All of the names on Gibson are on Jefferys, unchanged, except that Jefferys adds "or Kishimineta" to Roonanetto, and Gibson names "Lit: Beaver Cr." The plates were by different engravers, as is shown by the manner of treating ranges of mountains and the framing border.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1754, gave a brief notice of Washington's Journal under the misleading caption

[4] Colden's *History* was first printed in New York in 1727, by William Bradford, without a map. The London issue of 1747 was the first English issue, and a second edition was published in 1750 by J. Whiston and others, and a third in two volumes, in 1755, by Lockyer Davis, a remarkable run for such a work. The same map was used in each of the London editions.

of " Account of a Journey from Williamsburg to the French Fort, near the Lake Erri, in Virginia." The importance of the situation on the Ohio led it to follow in July with a summary of a state paper and a map of the British American Plantations, by Emanuel Bowen, who for twenty years had been engraving maps and had attained to the position of " Geographer to His Majesty." The portion of the map referring to the Ohio region forms a very small part of the whole, but it contains most of the names round Du Quesne that are to be found on the Jeffery map. If the Bowen map, engraved by Thomas Bowen, was really made for the July, 1754, Magazine, it takes rank with that of Gibson in the *London Magazine,* on which " Erri " is to be found, a blunder occurring in the text but not in the map of the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Daniel Webster to Thomas W. Thompson.

Boscawen, [N.H.], March 15, 1806.

Dear Sir, — I sit down to fulfil the promise which I made in my last, of writing you after our elections. In Salisbury, to begin at the Town for which you probably feel the most interest, the event was better than I apprehended. The Demo's put up Benj. Pettingail [1] for Rep. and after several trials they were vanquished, and Mr. Bowers [2] elected by a majority of 7. or 8. The old Clerk and Selectmen. In Boscawen, I think I told you we intended to choose B. Little [3] Esquire. The Demos. felt strong, but the issue was against them. C. Knight [4] had 112, Major Gerrish [5] 2, Little 127, and was chosen. Some pains was taken to unite the Federalists, which was no easy business. Moderator, Clerk, and Selectmen are Federal. N. Green [6] was up for several offices, but obtained none. We had a fair majority in every thing.

In Concord, S. Green esq.[7] is chosen by a majority of 8. In Pembroke, Asa Robinson;[8] New Chester, E. Kimball [9] — *almost* run down by *John Wadleigh;* Bridgwater, *T. Crawford;*[10] Alexandria and Danbury, Peter Ladd, federal; Plymouth, W. Webster.[11]

[1] Benjamin Pettengill (1758–1834).
[2] Andrew Bowers (1755–1832).
[3] Benjamin Little (1760–1846).
[4] Caleb Knight.
[5] Joseph Gerrish (1753–1817).
[6] Nathaniel Green (d.c. 1812).
[7] Samuel Greene (1770–1851).
[8] Asa Robertson.
[9] Ebenezer Kimball.
[10] Thomas Crawford.
[11] William Webster (1769–1843).

Wentworth and Romney, Burnham;[12] Warren, Bartlett;[13] Orford, Pratt;[14] Haverhill, Major N[athaniel] Merrill;[15] Andover, DOCTOR MOORE;[16] Warner, the great James Flanders — to match the Gentleman from Bridgewater[17] *par nobile fratrum;* Loudon, J. Clough,[18] Democratic; Canterbury, Obadiah Clough;[19] Northfield, the same as last year,[20] and so at Hopkinton,[21] and Dunstable;[22] Merrimac, J. Thornton;[23] Sanbornton[24] and New Hampton,[25] the same as last year.

For Governor the Federal votes are much divided between Gilman,[26] Peabody,[27] Smith[28] and Farrar.[29] Few Federal votes are given.

I have fears that Blasdel[30] will be run down as Councillor by Tarleton,[31] and Payson[32] as Senator by Carleton.[33] Peirce[34] is no doubt reelected, and so is Bradley.[35]

I am waiting impatiently to know what Congress will do with John Bull. I think he wi[ll] be found surly. Another recess, without do[ing] something for the protection of commerce, must I think, put a period to the popularity of the Administration. If the cities are awakened, they will awaken the country. The nation may cease to sleep, and the paltry politicians who govern it, may be shaken from their seats. Yours, as ever,

D. WEBSTER.

[Endorsed] Hon. Thomas W. Thompson,[36] Congress, City of Washington.

[12] Abraham Burnham.

[13] Ezra Bartlett, son of Josiah Bartlett, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

[14] Joseph Pratt.

[15] Curtis's *Almanac,* 1806, erroneously gives John Montgomery, and 1807, Nathaniel Whitman.

[16] Jacob Bailey Moore (c. 1790–1844).

[17] Thomas Crawford.

[18] Jonathan Clough, Jr.

[19] Obadiah Clough (1753–1823).

[20] Jonathan Ayers.

[21] Benjamin B. Darling.

[22] Frederick French.

[23] James Thornton.

[24] Samuel Prescott (1760–1807).

[25] Daniel Smith.

[26] John Taylor Gilman (1753–1828).

[27] Nathaniel Peabody (1741–1823).

[28] Jeremiah Smith (1759–1843).

[29] Timothy Farrar (1747–1849).

[30] Daniel Blaisdel.

[31] William Tarleton, of Grafton.

[32] Moses Paul Payson, who won (1770–1828).

[33] Peter Carleton.

[34] Benjamin Peirce, councillor (1757–1827).

[35] John Bradley, Senator.

[36] Thomas Weston Thompson (1766–1821).

JANUARY MEETING, 1928.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 12, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Artemas Ward, of New York, through Mr. Charles Martyn, the remainder of the General Artemas Ward collection, after August, 1777, as arranged by the late Benjamin Thomas Hill, of Worcester, Volumes V and VI of the series.

From Charles E. Banks, two parchments, 1648, a foot of a fine, and a transfer of property by recovery.

From the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, through its President, Samuel E. Morison, papers relating to Boston Estates, Nov. 26, 1766, to 1874, used by the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch, author of the " Gleaner " articles.

From Mrs. Albert J. Beveridge, a ledger account-book, 1827, 1828, of a stable-keeper near Boston, with newspaper cuttings, 1839, 1840, pasted in.

From Charles Mason Remey, of Baltimore, a brief sketch, typewritten, of the Rev. Ezekiel Gilbert Gear, D.D., 1793–1874.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Samuel Hopkins, of New York, a painting of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., (1721–1803), graduate of Yale, 1741, Minister of Great Barrington, Mass., 1743–1769, and of Newport, R. I., 1770–1803. He studied for the ministry with Rev. Jonathan Edwards, was a vigorous opponent of slavery, and is the hero of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Minister's Wooing*.

From the Essex Institute, by deposit, a painting of Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, by Isaac Henry Caliga, 1910.

From Mr. Norcross, a photographic negative of our late associate Arthur Lord.

By purchase, five bronze medals by the Robbins Company, of Attleborough: the medal to commemorate the first non-stop New

York to Paris flight of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, May 20–21, 1927; medals of Washington, Lincoln, and Franklin, and medal to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of Temple Lodge of Freemasons, East Boston, 1920.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Dr. John Warren accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from Judge Frederick W. Howay accepting Corresponding Membership.

NATHAN MATTHEWS

The PRESIDENT announced the death, on December 11, of Nathan Matthews, and called upon Professor MUNRO, who spoke as follows:

The public services given by Nathan Matthews to the city and to the Commonwealth covered more than forty years. As a young man of thirty he served his political novitiate by helping to elect Grover Cleveland in 1884. During that campaign he was very active among the younger Democratic leaders of Boston. Two years later, in the congressional elections of 1886, he launched into the Morse-Ranney fight and won recognition as a brilliant organizer. This facility and effectiveness soon drew him into the politics of the Commonwealth and he became a member of the Democratic State Committee, in fact its notably active member. In this capacity he carried through one of the most brilliant and best-organized campaigns that the Democratic party has ever waged in Massachusetts, resulting in the election of William E. Russell to the governorship.

These services made Mr. Matthews the logical Democratic nominee for mayor of Boston in 1890. He was elected, and then three times re-elected, serving four full terms (1891–1895), and retired from office after having given the city an executive administration which for businesslike efficiency has not been surpassed since his day. His valedictory, as mayor, delivered on January 5, 1895, is a remarkable document. In printed form it covers nearly three hundred pages and presents a full survey of all the city departments as they were thirty-three years ago. As a contribution to the

literature of Boston's municipal development this volume has been of the greatest value.

Thirteen years after his retirement from the mayor's office Mr. Matthews once again found himself in a position of great opportunity for service — this time as Chairman of the first Boston Finance Commission. He was not only the Chairman of this body, but its most industrious member. He had an enormous capacity for work and he showed it. He had an extraordinary power of organizing material, putting the results in cogent form, and making them serve as the basis of his own recommendations. It is not too much to say that the new Boston Charter of 1909 — for it was in reality a new charter although not so called — that this new charter was mainly the work of Nathan Matthews and embodied his ideas as to what a modern city charter ought to be. He never became a convert to the newer forms of city government, such as the commission plan or the city manager form. To him the best type of municipal executive was the mayor, because he always thought of the possibilities as he had seen and grasped them when he occupied that office.

From time to time during the past fifteen years he served on various boards, such as the Boston Budget Commission and the Mayor's Commission on New Sources of City Revenue. More than any other man he was responsible for the existing municipal budget system in Boston. He was deeply interested in the Franklin Foundation and in the Massachusetts State Library, serving for many years as a trustee of both. For two years he taught Municipal Government at Harvard, and proved himself a stimulating teacher. Out of this course grew his book on *Municipal Charters,* a standard work in its field.

All this public service was given in the spare hours of a busy man, for Mr. Matthews had a law practice that made heavy demands on his time. He was what in England would be called a barrister, taking difficult cases which were brought to him, as a specialist, by other lawyers. Whatever he did, he did with masterful thoroughness; he knew every angle of every problem before he was through with it, even if he often worked through all the night to achieve that end. No man of the past generation in this community held higher ideals

of what a city government ought to be, or labored more earnestly, both in office and out of it, to translate those ideals into realities. In the face of discouragements he never became discouraged; for he loved the city of his birth and was proud of Boston. A citizen with the spirit of a Roman consul, he held his head high and persevered to the end.

Bishop LAWRENCE then spoke as follows:

For over fifty years I have had a passing acquaintance with Nathan Matthews. During the past four or five years I have had occasion really to know him. Had I been asked some twenty or thirty years ago to estimate him, I should have said that beginning as a bashful boy, rough and aggressive in order to conceal his bashfulness, he had made his way to the front rank of citizenship by pure force of ability, integrity, and determination to carry his convictions to the goal. His political and administrative methods were always straight, vigorous, at times apparently arrogant. It was the arrogancy of conviction and determination. His speech was strong, and occasionally rough. A consuming student and tireless worker, with a remarkable memory and a hunger for facts, he marshalled his knowledge in a way that drove home his reasoning with accumulative power.

To tender affection, sentiment, and the finer emotions he seemed to those who did not know him well to be almost a stranger. Upon the death of his father, however, he found himself in a position where only by the surrender of ambition, time, and pleasure, he could save for his father's family the property and comforts to which they had been accustomed. No sacrifice was too great for him to make for his family, and in the struggle were developed and revealed his finer qualities.

A man of the city, he sought quiet upon his farm at Hamilton, planted, studied, and pruned his trees and shrubs, so that, as he said to me a while ago: "My forest, planted tree after tree by myself, is unique, for it is thirty years ahead of any scientifically planted and nursed forest: hence none can catch up to it."

His devotion to the people of the village of Hamilton, its roads, hedges and churches, was shown in personal care and

generous gifts. The spire of one church given by himself is an unconscious memorial. He knew the men, women and children by name. He could tell you the history of the ancient houses of Essex County, and by his knowledge of New England architecture and custom could give almost to the decade the date on which each ell or porch was added.

Indeed, his store of knowledge on many subjects, history, theology, ecclesiology, made him to me a rather uncomfortable companion, for upon asking some question to which he had a right to expect an intelligent answer, he would amplify my response with such a wealth of elucidation and interpretation as would put me to shame; so that I got into the habit upon his asking me such a question of asking him another, and once launched in talk, he would answer them all himself.

Nathan Matthews broke many records in public life. He made a record in his own life in later years as beautiful as it is rare. Never weakening in his force, he gained a tenderness of character which showed itself in voice and manner.

We are accustomed to think that as a man approaches seventy, his character and temperament are so fixed that we can hope for little change. Not so, Nathan Matthews. His personality was transformed or transfigured, so that through his voice, manner and action there were revealed finer thoughts and deeds than we had thought possible. During these years, he with his New England reserve, held himself in restraint, and was afraid to speak as tenderly as he felt.

On the day before he died so suddenly, I came to him at Phillips House at his request. He said: " Bishop, I want you to read the letter which I have written, and I want you to tell me if I have slopped over. I do not want to write a word which seems to be over-emotional." He then read to me first a message of sympathy in his illness from the Roman priest and parish at Hamilton; then I read his answer, couched in terms so tender, affectionate, and full of charity that I would count myself happy, had I written such a letter, to have it in my hand as I met my Master face to face.

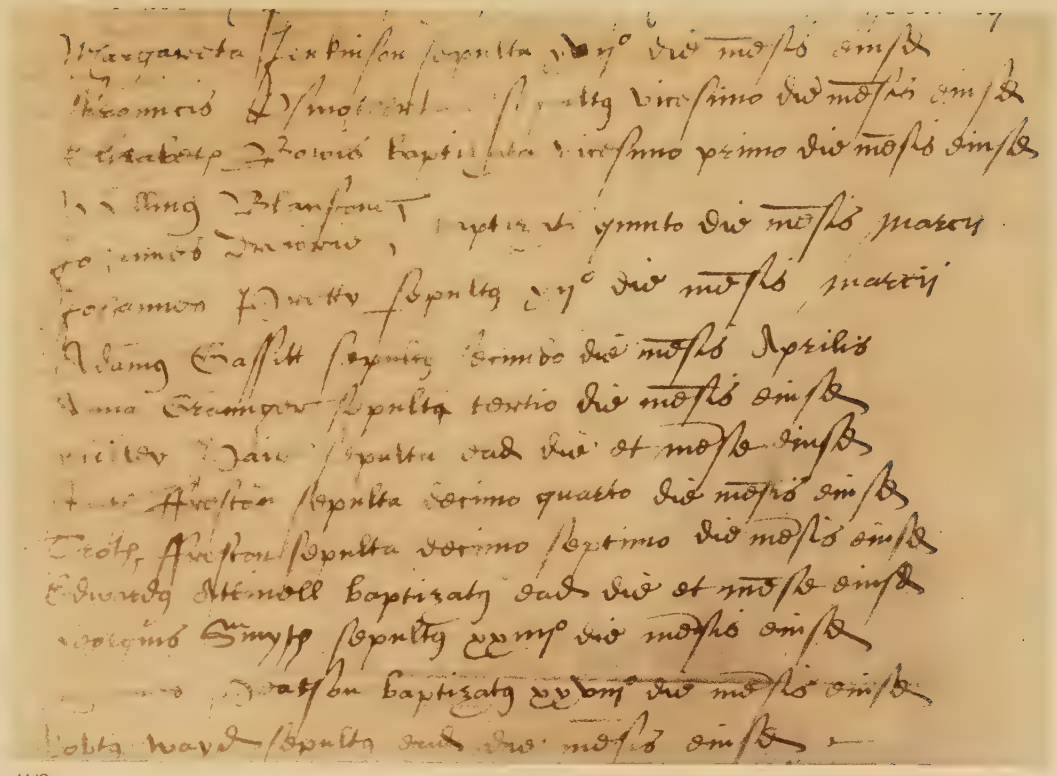
Dr. SHATTUCK read some amusing extracts from a record kept by Mrs. Benjamin Waterhouse of conversations with her husband, 1830 and later.

WILLIAM MORRELL AND WILLIAM BLACKSTONE

Colonel BANKS called attention to recently published volumes of Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* I. 162, III. 214, in which the matriculation records of William Morrell and William Blackstone are given. The editor of that compilation regards these matriculants as identical with Rev. William Morrell who came to Massachusetts Bay with Gorges in 1623 and Rev. William Blackstone who was the first known English settler on the peninsula of Boston. It is not known definitely when Blackstone came here, but from an examination of the records of the Diocese of Peterborough it will be seen that both these clergymen were ordained deacons on the same day by the Bishop, May 23, and priests on successive days, May 23–4, 1619, thus establishing an intimate personal and clerical association, which probably existed during their university days. Examination made for me in the Diocesan records by my friend, Canon Noble, failed to disclose the institution of either of these young men into any living in that Diocese, although he informs me that it is an obligation on all clergymen to remain two years in the Diocese where they are ordained. Blackstone took his Master's degree in 1621, but there is no record of one conferred on Morrell. The natural inference from this close personal university and ecclesiastical association is, that Blackstone came here with his older colleague, who had graduated from Cambridge a year after Blackstone had entered. It may be assumed that Morrell was that number of years older, and from the known habits of life of Blackstone, seeking a life of solitude here, it is entirely probable that he welcomed an opportunity to cultivate the hermit-like existence which he led on the Boston peninsula for years prior to the coming of Winthrop.

The origin of Blackstone's family in England has been the subject of much speculation. It is known from the letter of Roger Williams reporting Blackstone's death in 1675 that he was "in the four score year of his age," [1] indicating 1595–96 as the year of his birth. The published register of the

[1] *Mass. Hist. Coll.* VI. 299.



MHS

Baptismal Record of William Blackstone, March 5, 1595-96

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parish of Horncastle, Lincolnshire, furnishes the required William Blaxtone, baptized March 5, 1595–96, son of John and Anne (Hawley) Blackstone of that parish, descended from an old Yorkshire family. This identification is without doubt the correct one, as all other known families have been investigated and no William found in them answers this close combination of name and date and availability.[2] By courtesy of the Vicar of Horncastle, Rev. R. E. Barton Poole, I obtained a photograph of the baptismal record of William Blackstone which is here reproduced. Like success, the speaker said, had not attended investigations which he had made respecting identification of William Morrell, but he hoped to present the results of further searches in some future communication. A William Morrell was licensed as Curate of St. Catherine, Coleman Street, London, April 21, 1588, and of St. Margaret Patten, London, July 7, 1590, serving as such until October, 1609. He is of the right age to be father of our William Morrell, but his name does not appear among the matriculants of Oxford or Cambridge.

Colonel BANKS also presented a copy of a Fine found by him in the Public Record Office, London, showing the sale by William Bradford in 1611 of his property in Bentley-cum-Arksey, co. Yorks, which he had inherited from his grandfather and father. This sale took place after the emigration of the Pilgrims to Holland.

BRADFORD

Feet of Fines. York 9 Jac. I. Trinity.

Haec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in crastino Sancte Trinitatis Anno regnorum Jacobi dei gratia Anglie Scotie Francie et Hibernie Regis fidei defensoris etc. Anglie Francie et Hibernie nono et Scotie quadragesimo quinto coram Edwardo Coke Thoma Walmysley Petro Warburton et Thoma Foster et aliis domini Regis fidelibus tunc

[2] This was the opinion of the late J. Gardner Bartlett, who had made extensive studies of the University affiliations of early New England clergymen, and had noted the baptism in the Horncastle register. He communicated this to Dr. Venn. Earlier investigators adopted another William Blaxton, baptized at Whickham, co. Durham, September 21st, 1601, but this date excludes him as a graduate in 1618, and other facts indicate that he died in childhood.

ibidem presentibus Inter Radulphum Waller querentem et Willelmum Bradforth deforciatorem de uno messuagio uno cotagio uno gardino uno pomario et sex acris terre et dimidia cum pertinentibus in Bentleye Unde placitum convencionis submonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia Scilicet quod predictus Willelmus precognovit predictum tenementum cum pertinentibus esse ius ipsius Radulphi ut illa que idem Radulphus habet de dono predicti Willelmi Et illa remisit et quietclamavit de se et heredibus suis predicto Radulpho et heredibus suis in perpetuum Et predictus [Query, preterea?] idem Willelmus concessit pro se et heredibus suis quod ipsi warantizabunt predicto Radulpho et heredibus suis predictum tenementum cum pertinentibus contra predictum Willelmum et heredes suos et contra Willelmum Bradforth patrem ipsius Willelmi et heredes suos et contra Willelmum Bradforth Avum predicti Willelmi et heredes suos in perpetuum Et pro hac recognitione remissione quietaclameo fine et concordia idem Radulphus dedit predicto Willelmo quinquaginta et unam libras sterlingorum.

W. CAMERON FORBES spoke of a visit he had received in 1913 while Governor General of the Philippines from Prof. Henry Jones Ford of Princeton, who had been sent by President-elect Woodrow Wilson to make a report to him on conditions in the Islands. Mr. Forbes filed a copy of Professor Ford's Report to President Wilson.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1928.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 9, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:

Today is unique in the history of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as Julius Herbert Tuttle completed on January 21, fifty years of service, being surpassed only by Dr. Samuel A. Green — whose connection with the Society covered a period of fifty-eight years. In 1878 Mr. Tuttle came here as a very young man; was Assistant in the Library from January 21, 1878, to September 30, 1883; and was Assistant Librarian from October 1, 1883, to April 10, 1919, since which date he has been Librarian. During all these years he has faithfully performed every duty imposed upon him, and has earned not only confidence but deep affection from all of us who know him.

Turning to Mr. Tuttle he added,

Mr. Tuttle, on behalf of the Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society I present to you this silver pitcher upon which is the following inscription:

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

FROM HIS FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN RECOGNITION OF

FIFTY YEARS OF DEVOTED SERVICE

1878 — 1928

Mr. TUTTLE responded with appreciation.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Daniel F. Magner, of Hingham, an account book of Peter and William Tower, of Hingham, 1718–1820.

From George Frederick Robinson, of Watertown, a photograph of the original deed of reversion of land and ponds " at Misticke " from Webcowites and the Squaw Sachem, to Jotham, son of Capt. Edward Gibbons of Boston, Jan. 13, 1639–40, acknowledged before Gov. John Winthrop, Lt. Gov. John Endecott, Richard Saltonstall, and Thomas Flint.

From the Estate of Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, first editions of Ralph Waldo Emerson's works: *Nature,* 1836, *Poems,* 1847, *Conduct of Life,* 1860, and *Society and Solitude,* given to Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham by the author and containing his autograph.

From the Estate of Mary Abby Libby, of Portland, Maine, through William Pitt Tryon, of New York, Executor, by deposit, the James Small Libby collection of manuscript papers, 1658–1854, mostly relating to Scarborough, Maine.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Estate of Miss Isabella B. Pratt, through her executor, Carl H. Richardson, a Franklin medal awarded by the School Committee to Thomas W. Pratt as a reward of merit, and a silver City Medal awarded to his daughter Isabella B. Pratt, in 1864; also a gold-headed cane given by Francis Quinn, in 1859, to Edward Everett.

Claude Moore Fuess, of Andover, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of two Resident Members: Archibald Cary Coolidge, in Boston, on January 14; and John Spencer Bassett, of Northampton, in Washington, D. C., on January 27; also of Clarence Walworth Alvord, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a corresponding member, at Diano Marina, Italy, on January 25. He then called upon Professor MERRIMAN, who paid a tribute to Professor Coolidge, and Mr. Cunningham read a tribute to Professor Bassett, written by Mr. Ford.

Mr. TUTTLE then spoke, using lantern-slide illustrations for the first time in the Dowse Library, on

The Society in Retrospect

This interesting anniversary gives an opportunity to express my grateful appreciation of all the Society's generous consideration, and also of the privilege through long years of taking even a modest part in its progress. Now and then a feature of its past life has been portrayed, but this occasion suggests another effort in a somewhat lighter vein.

Hints of the Society's origin are found in the period following the ratification of the Federal Constitution in Boston. This event took place, after long discussions beginning in the Old State House and continuing in the meeting house in Long Lane, on February 6, 1788; and Rev. Jeremy Belknap was minister of the Church worshipping there. He wrote in his note book that " on w^{h} occasion it was tho't proper by y^{e} Citizens of this Metropolis to change the Name of y^{e} Street to Federal Street." The Society claims the honor of having two of its early members in this constitutional convention, George Richards Minot, Secretary, and Judge John Davis.

Jeremy Belknap had spent more than twenty years in careful research, since his graduation in 1762, while preparing the first volume of his monumental *History of New-Hampshire,* which made its appearance in 1784 as he reached the age of forty years. He continued with unabated zeal until his second and third volumes were published several years later. By dint of his absorbing interest in this life work he duly realized the great importance of collecting, preserving, and publishing material for history, which so soon were to become the fundamental purposes of the Society.

All this led to the drawing up of a " Plan of an Antiquarian Society," by Mr. Belknap, on August 27, 1790, after having talked over the matter informally with a few persons at a gathering the night before. This embodied the proposed rules for such a Society, and names of five persons, including his own, who should compose the first meeting. William Tudor, the first named, an eminent counsellor, became the first Treasurer, 1791–1796; Rev. John Eliot, minister of the North Church, the first Librarian, 1791–1793, and the first Cabinet-

Keeper, 1791, 1792; Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of the Brattle Street Church, first member of the Standing Committee, 1791–1802; James Winthrop, Librarian of Harvard College, member of the same committee, 1791–1821; and Mr. Belknap, himself, the first Corresponding Secretary, 1791–1798, the year of his death.

These five persons agreed to choose five other members, each nominating one: James Sullivan, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, the first chosen, became the first President, 1791–1806: George Richards Minot, Clerk of the House of Representatives, third member of the Standing Committee, 1791–1793; Thomas Wallcut, the first Recording Secretary, 1791–1792; Rev. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, in the same office, 1793–1812; and the fifth member, William Baylies, of Dighton, Mass.

The first regular meeting of this group of ten was held at the house of William Tudor, in Court Street, on January 24, 1791, when a constitution was adopted. The second meeting was at Mr. Sullivan's house in Cambridge Street, when lists of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts were brought in to begin the Library. The first gifts were two pine tree coins, given by President Sullivan. The first book plates bore the date of founding, 1790.

The third meeting was held in the Society's first quarters, a chamber in the old Manufactory House, then owned and occupied by the Massachusetts Bank, standing on the north side of what is now Hamilton Place. It was said to have been a handsome brick building one hundred and forty feet long, with a large hall running through the centre, and wings fifty feet long. This building, erected in 1754, grew out of the popular interest in spinning and weaving aroused by the Scotch-Irish immigrants who came to Boston in 1718, these new arts for a time being taught in a town school, established for the purpose.

At the fourth meeting, the rules adopted declared that the "American coins and curiosities be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet," that the Librarian should produce a "catalogue" at each quarterly meeting, that Mr. Belknap should keep a key, and that members should enter books taken on a slate hung in the chamber for the purpose.

The first publication committee of the Society, Messrs. Belknap, Eliot, Freeman, and Minot, found a place for beginning the printing of the Collections in the first number of *The American Apollo,* published by Mr. Belknap's son, Joseph, and Alexander Young, on January 6, 1792. The first 208 pages of the first volume of the Collections were printed in the first thirty-nine numbers of the *Apollo,* until Sept. 28, 1792, when it changed to a newspaper form. The remainder of the volume was issued in monthly parts. This series of Collections has now reached seventy-seven volumes.

The stockholders of the Bank could no longer accommodate the Society, and on July 31, 1792, the quarterly meeting was held in its new home in the northwest corner of the attic of Faneuil Hall. In April, 1793, the treasury showed receipts of £48, and a balance after expenses of £19. A new venture for quarters, when an offer was received from Messrs. William Scollay, Charles Bulfinch, and Charles Vaughan, in January, 1794, led the Society into the upper room, over the arch, of the Tontine Crescent on the south side of Franklin Place. A deed from them, in consideration of five shillings, gave the Society a new home, which was finished in season for the meeting there in June, 1794. Its neighbor below, in the first room over the arch, was the Boston Library. This first block of connected dwellings in Boston, sixteen in all, was designed by Charles Bulfinch, and stood between Hawley and Devonshire Streets. This followed quickly Mr. Bulfinch's first design, the first Boston Theatre, nearby, on Federal Street, which was opened to the public on February 3, 1794. A view of this region from Federal Street, shows the Theatre and at the left the Tontine Crescent running into the background.

The proprietors of the Theatre gave Mr. Bulfinch a medal, showing its design and commending his work, which entitled him to a seat in the theatre during life.

Franklin Place soon became one of the attractive dwelling places in the town. The Tontine Crescent, curved in form and built over marshy land, made the Place widest opposite the arch. The middle of this street was taken up by a grass-plot three hundred feet long and forty feet wide at the centre, bordered with trees and enclosed with a fence. In this centre opposite to the arch stood a memorial urn to Benjamin Frank-

lin, who had died in 1790, leaving a legacy to the Town, now its Franklin Fund. This urn was imported by Mr. Bulfinch for the purpose, and when the grass-plot was removed about 1855 the urn was placed over his tomb in Mount Auburn. An interesting plan of this general region, drawn by Jeremy Belknap in 1794, shows the sites of his different homes, and also the limits of the great fire of that year.

The Society had reached, in 1794, within one, its first limit of thirty members when it was incorporated on February 19, of that year and fixed the new limit at sixty, and the limit of holdings outside the Library at £2000. By the election of Charles Bulfinch on Oct. 1, 1801, it reached its full membership of sixty; and in view of his generous donation of its Library room he was exempted from paying admission and annual dues.

After the retirement of President Sullivan in 1806, Christopher Gore followed him in this office, as he did a little later as Governor of the Commonwealth. During his presidency the Prince Library was received as a deposit from the Trustees of the Old South Church, and about forty years later was delivered on their request to the Boston Public Library. The annual meeting of 1818 brought into the service of the Society a new President, John Davis. Ten years later, in August, 1828, the General Court gave to the Society the old Speaker's desk, which was in the Provincial House of Representatives. This became the President's desk at the end of the long table in the Library room, and was used as such until the Dowse Library was received.

The Society's quarters were becoming inadequate when, early in 1833, it bought from the Provident Institution for Savings, the second floor and one-half of the attic, and the use of entry and stairway, in its new building, just erected, on Tremont Street, adjoining the King's Chapel Burying Ground. The Society's Treasurer, James Savage, was also chairman of a committee of the Institution. Five thousand dollars were immediately raised to effect the purchase, Samuel Appleton being the leading contributor. The first meeting there was held in June, 1833. The inner east room was furnished with a number of long settees, and the ancient Windsor chairs, bought in 1791, were grouped around

the large oblong table, at the head of which the President sat.

In Mr. Davis's closing months as President a seal was adopted, and it was voted "to prepare and present suitable diplomas to the surviving members of the Society," on which the seal was embossed. The copper-plate of the diploma, by Pendleton, is still in use; but the old die and follower, now saved, were laid aside in 1912, and a new hand-stamp with the same design used for the embossed seal. This seal, the original design of which was drawn by Miss Caroline Sturgis, reproduced in colored wax makes an attractive picture.

Thomas Lindall Winthrop, who had served as Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth for several years, was elected President in April, 1835. At the same meeting the Society received a deposit of the old Winslow chair which was brought with the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, and it was promptly taken by the President as his chair, to be used at the meetings with the old Speaker's desk.

James Savage, who had served as Treasurer for nineteen years, became President in 1841, and filled out a useful period of fourteen years, the veriest Roman of them all, so thought our late President Adams, whose interest in him placed the fine bust of him and pedestal in this place of honor, side by side with those of Robert C. Winthrop, his successor. On Nov. 2, 1846, the new Boston Museum adjoining the Society's home was opened to the public. In the last year of Mr. Savage's administration, while Mr. Winthrop was chairman of the Standing Committee, the Society received a large benefaction through the Trustees of Samuel Appleton, of ten thousand dollars, the first generous and practical support to its publications which had hitherto been given by generous members.

When Robert Charles Winthrop took the Presidency in April, 1855, he brought new zeal into the Society's work, a deep interest in history, a sense of pride in its future, and the benefits of an experience in public life in the field and in the halls of Congress, being acclaimed the most finished orator of his day. It was thought then that the golden age of the Society had begun. One of his first happy acts was to propose a photograph of the members as a group, with Mr.

Savage sitting in the President's chair. This was accomplished; and it was then the largest group taken by Whipple in that early stage of the art of photography. Mr. Savage is sitting in the old Winslow chair, with King Philip's samp bowl on a table in front of him, to indicate its long use in balloting with corn and beans in the election of members. Mr. Winthrop had the warm and able support of two members. Richard Frothingham, Treasurer for thirty years, who was keenly interested in historical research, and Charles Deane, then chairman of the Standing Committee. Mr. Deane became a member in 1849 at the age of thirty-six, just before his friend George Livermore, and promptly took an important part in the Society's work. About the time of his retirement from active business in 1864, Mr. Deane became responsible for the editorial work on the Proceedings.

Mr. Winthrop in his first year witnessed the completion of the Society's purchase of 30 Tremont Street at a cost of $35,000. In his second year came the gift of the Dowse Library from Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, a private collection of nearly five thousand volumes which he had spent many years in gathering. Mr. Dowse sent for Mr. Winthrop and gave him the earnest of this gift, dated July 30, 1856, witnessed by O. W. Watriss and George Livermore who was largely instrumental in the matter. This was fastened in at the beginning of Vol. I. of Purchas' Pilgrims, which Mr. Winthrop carried back to Boston for safe keeping. Mr. Dowse's home was at the corner of Main and Prospect Streets, Cambridgeport. His Library was in the right-hand rear room on the second floor. His parlor was underneath on the first floor, on the walls of which was an old fashioned Grecian design of paper with a continuous picture. Mr. and Mrs. Watriss had charge of Mr. Dowse's home and made his last days pleasant and comfortable. Their daughter, Miss Watriss, is present at this meeting. Mr. Dowse, a bachelor, died in the following November, and the Library was received by the Society in April, 1857.

The Dowse Library, which has remained in our meeting room ever since 1857, was then placed in the inner east room on the second floor of 30 Tremont Street, where the Society had met since 1833. The new fittings of that room, the cases,

large table and chairs, which you see here today were all made and placed at the expense of the executors. A fund of ten thousand dollars was also received from them for its maintenance. The beautiful unfinished portrait of Edward Everett, by Stuart, is preserved as it was in Mr. Dowse's time, as a reminder of the many profitable hours which Mr. Everett spent in his earlier years in consulting Mr. Dowse's choice volumes. This and Chantrey's fine marble bust of Sir Walter Scott, were Mr. Dowse's chosen ornaments of his Library in Cambridge. The Society many years ago, recognizing Mr. Livermore's interest in these gifts, placed his portrait over one of the cases.

One interesting reminder of the Society in 1869 is a large photograph of a group of members, by Black, taken in June of that year on the steps in front of Mr. Winthrop's house in Brookline at a meeting of the Society held by his invitation. New matters were requiring Mr. Winthrop's attention. Notwithstanding the additional income from the generous gift of the Peabody Fund of $20,000 in 1867, the heavy burden of increasing expenses called for a larger income. In 1871 it was decided to enlarge the Society's building. Temporary rooms were secured across the street at No. 41, and in February 1873, 30 Tremont Street was ready for occupation. The new building was now a stone structure of five stories. The two lower stories were leased to the City of Boston for the use of the Suffolk Probate and Registry of Deeds for a term of fifteen years at $9000 a year. A mortgage of $60,000 was placed on the property, and some of the funds of the Society became an encumbrance on the building too.

Not since the election of Mr. Winthrop in 1839 and that of Mr. Deane in 1849 was the Society so fortunate as in the election, April, 1867, of Charles Card Smith as a member. A careful and painstaking student in history he greatly strengthened the team work with them. He served forty years on the Publication Committee, thirty-four years in the Council, thirty years as Treasurer following Mr. Frothingham, and eighteen years as Editor, following Mr. Deane. He remembered the Society with a legacy of $15,000, restricting its income to be used toward the payment of the Editor's salary.

The next year after Mr. Smith's election as Treasurer the Librarian was instructed to look for an active assistant. It

fell to my lot to be the satisfying object of his search, and Monday morning, January 21, 1878, witnessed my initiation in service. When the two heavy iron doors opened at No. 30 Tremont Street at the stroke of nine, and the inner swing doors were passed, the entrance to the Library on the third floor was reached by a long and tedious iron stairway running round an open well which extended to the top of the fifth floor. The first large room to enter after the strenuous ascent was the office whose walls were lined with the same shelving as is in use in the Society's present office. There were nine shelves high above the cabinets, filled with the old and rare books of the Library, while the cabinets themselves held the Society's valuable manuscript papers. At the rear of the room a circular iron stairway led to the large room above in the fourth story which was filled with old wooden bookcases, and with more recent wooden shelves on the walls for the addition of books. In the room in the front of this were the pamphlets, and in the small room at the rear was the Rebellion Collection.

Returning to the office, going down by the circular stairway, flanked at the bottom later by two tall glass cases for relics resting one on a map case and the other on a coin case, your attention was called to the two large windows of the office, opening out toward King's Chapel. In the right one stood the two cases containing the Belknap donation, supporting a showcase, which contained medals. Near the left window stood the Librarian's old desk, while a large and long oak table nearly filled that side of the room. Under this table the wrapping paper was kept, and a lot of old string saved from incoming parcels, all in some confusion. The door on the easterly side led into the Dowse Library. Opposite to the entrance was a small double door leading into a long and narrow room containing the newspaper volumes. At the right, on the south side of the Dowse Library, hung the portrait of Thomas Dowse between the two windows that opened toward King's Chapel. The humorous situation of the Society was that its main outlook on this side was out over the past emphasized by the tombs and gravestones seen below.

It was at this period of the Society's renewed activity that Mr. Deane and Mr. Smith aroused an interest in the publica-

tion of its two volumes of early Proceedings from 1791 to 1855, issued in 1879 and 1880, toward which it was my privilege to lend a helping hand, especially in the preparation of the numerous illustrations. The Society had then published sixteen volumes of Proceedings beginning with the year 1855, the first year of Mr. Winthrop's Presidency; and it has now just published its Volume 60, with index volumes to the first forty.

Among the Society's earlier benefactors was Amos Adams Lawrence, who was elected a member in the first year of our Civil War. The excellence of the Rebellion Collection of books, pamphlets, broadsides and manuscripts, is largely due to his generous contributions. During Mr. Winthrop's administration, too, Francis Parkman was slowly preparing his valuable collection of careful transcripts of original manuscripts in distant archives in bound form for the Society, which were invaluable aids in the publication of his remarkable series of historical works. One of my earliest recollections was his coming to the Library now and then to look over the several trunks of these papers, which were kept near the Rebellion Collection upstairs, and to take away with him a package of papers at a time to be bound, and the volume was then returned to receive his autograph. Later the fine case, now in the outer hall on this floor, was made under his personal direction to hold this collection.

Among those members who called often at 30 Tremont Street was Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. He would find there some of the faithful group sitting at the table in the Dowse Library; and on one occasion when he came puffing through the swing doors from the stairway, and passed me in the office, he said: "I have a new name for the Society, Massachusetts High-Story-Cal Society." Mr. Deane asked him to write the name on a piece of paper which he had in his hand, which he did, and then Mr. Deane wrote his own name at the bottom of the slip. This slip is now preserved under the glass on my desk. Dr. Holmes, full of wit and humor, was always bubbling over with his inimitable expressions of interest, in persons and things, and a variety of causes. One pleasant day he began to talk as he sat down opposite to Mr. Deane, at his ease, and Mr. Deane respectfully listened. It seemed

to me to be fully an hour before he had finished his most fascinating discourse, without a word from his listener.

Into the faithful group as early as 1877, Justin Winsor came, and was honored in 1881 by the Society as its Corresponding Secretary, putting on the mantle of his predecessor Mr. Deane. He had been called to the Librarianship of Harvard College in 1877, and had in 1880 just completed his Anniversary *Memorial History of Boston.* His exhaustive search of the Society's large collection of manuscripts made it of great service in this work and in his monumental *Narrative and Critical History of America,* in eight folio volumes.

The Society has greatly benefited by the munificent bequest of John Langdon Sibley and later by the added legacy of his widow, Charlotte Augusta Langdon (Cook) Sibley. Mr. Sibley was Librarian of Harvard College for nearly fifty years, preceding Mr. Winsor, and had been for nearly forty years a member of this Society at the time of his death in December, 1885. The primary purpose under Mr. Sibley's will is to continue the publication of his Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates, to be written "in the same general manner" as the three volumes already published by him. If then any income remains it is to be applied to the purchase of material relating to the College and its graduates, and then if any remains, to be used for the general purposes of the Society. His first volume was published in 1873, and his second and third volumes in 1881 and 1885, and I well remember his weeks and months of careful research in the Society's Library in preparing these last two volumes. All of his visits were interesting occasions, and Mrs. Sibley was his constant companion, as she busied herself with her knitting or sewing. His eyesight, in reading fine writing or print, required the use of three pairs of spectacles, one over the other; and in talking meantime two of these would be pushed up on his forehead. The ladder in the office was in constant use, while he was present, to get the older books from the upper shelves for his use. Dr. Green followed this interest of Mr. Sibley in the Library with great vigilance, visiting his home in Cambridge on every Sunday afternoon, to consult further with him in his work.

Respecting Mr. Winthrop's desire to retire from the Presidency, in 1885 Dr. George E. Ellis was chosen as his successor and continued in office until his death in December, 1894. He faithfully carried on the standard set by Mr. Winthrop, and the Society keeps his memory fresh in the name of Ellis Hall in this building, into which there entered the sale value of his house, of $25,000, and also the Ellis Fund of $30,000.

When Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., entered the Society as a member in 1879, he seemed to have a sense of hereditary pride and responsibility in the Society's progress. His sallies and pungent remarks at meetings, when the old and lively freedom of expression still was in order, and when it was his apparent desire to arouse the members into more activity by his surprises, added a peculiar interest in the proceedings. Mr. Winthrop, Jr., soon after his father's death gave, in 1895, to the Society the large collection of Winthrop family papers, of unsurpassed interest and value, and later by bequest he made substantial additions to two Winthrop Funds.

Charles Francis Adams became the helmsman on his elevation to the Presidency in 1895, and was aggressive in all his efforts to guide the Society into a better haven. The time had come for improved quarters, and his strong purpose was felt in the selection of this present site. In May, 1895, just after the acceptance of Dr. Ellis' bequests, the Society voted to purchase this new site. President Adams reported at the October meeting that it had been bought for $53,500. His invaluable service in the sale of the old building at 30 Tremont Street to the City of Boston, and his generous gift in adjusting the present site were gratefully recognized by the Society. The sale of his autobiography has been a material help in the wonderful growth of the Adams Fund. Two important objects engaged his attention back as far as the early years of his presidency, the publication of the final editions of two great foundation works in New England history, Bradford's History of Plymouth, and Winthrop's History of New England. The first has been published and the second is in process.

Another generous benefactor of the Society was Rev. Robert Cassie Waterston, a member for more than thirty

years, who remembered it with bequests, the valuable part of his library, and funds amounting to $35,000 for its increase in books and manuscripts and for publications.

The Society held its first meeting here, with a large attendance, on March 9, 1899, in the Dowse Library, before the building was ready for occupancy. The Annual Meeting following found matters in practical readiness for service. The new structure absorbed a large part of the sale price of 30 Tremont Street. It stood alone on this corner with ample spaces on both sides, which might have been bought for future needs. It is interesting to note the changes in this region, since the map of 1821, with its few additional street lines. In 1851 the Western Avenue, now Beacon Street, shut in a large marshy basin, with two railroads, the Boston and Providence and the Boston and Worcester, crossing it. In 1866, eleven years after the filling had begun, the Back Bay streets are shown. In 1881, two paintings, owned by the Boston Medical Library, were made by Darius Cobb of buildings nearby. The Society owns a view given by Walter Gilman Page, who painted it in June, 1889, looking from his home at the corner of Parker Street and Westland Avenue over the site of this building. It shows the apartment house nearby in Parker Street, at the right, and in the centre foreground and background two large tents used, perhaps, the last season of Barnum's circus here.

Following the death of Mr. Adams in March, 1915, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was drafted for the Presidency and served nearly ten years with distinction, until his death in November, 1924. During this period the Society records another benefactor, Henry Adams, whose valuable collection of ancient and modern coins, gathered by various members of the Adams family since John Adams, is here, and whose library was later received. The Adams Fund, largely accumulated from the royalties from the sale of his *Education of Henry Adams,* now amounts to more than $38,000, and is looking forward to continuous additions.

Arthur Lord retired from the Treasurership in April, 1921, and then was elected a Vice-President. After Senator Lodge's death, the Council chose Mr. Lord President to fill Senator Lodge's unexpired term to April 9, 1925. On that day he was

elected President by the Society, but his term of office was suddenly closed by his death on April 10.

Many other interesting features in the Society's history, including useful legacies to the Society, call for an extended account at another time, to give a due appreciation of the many milestones and individual factors in its progress.

MARCH MEETING, 1928.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 8, 1928, at 3 P.M. In the absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. CHARLES G. WASHBURN was chosen to preside.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported:

The gift of fifteen volumes by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States, a Resident Member. One of these volumes is a manuscript copy of "An Answer to several heads of Enquiry concerning the Present State of New England," 1676; two volumes of the Orderly Book of Capt. David Holmes, of Woodstock, Conn., great grandfather of Justice Holmes, kept near Lake George and at Crown Point, 1758 and 1759; and twelve volumes of Massachusetts Laws, 1692 to 1805, once owned by Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons, and then by Justice Holmes' grandfather, Judge Charles Jackson of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, of which court he was himself the Chief Justice, 1899–1902.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported that President Endicott had generously caused to be restored, by Mr. Thompson at the Museum of Fine Arts, the Society's portrait of Rev. John Eliot, its first Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, painted by Samuel King in 1779.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Claude Moore Fuess accepting resident membership.

Arthur Stanwood Pier, of Milton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, of Princeton, New Jersey, a Corresponding Member.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the annual meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: FRED N. ROBINSON, ROBERT GRANT and JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: GEORGE G. WOLKINS and FRANCIS R. HART.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Mr. HALE read a paper on

IMPRESSIONS OF VISITING MUSICIANS IN NEW ENGLAND (1849–1875)

The first singers, players and conductors who visited the United States were as a rule unaccompanied by private secretaries to serve as press agents, passionate or prosaic, biographers, historians. These visitors were simply persons who sang or played or conducted in the hope of gaining money and applause — especially money. To the Italian, German, Frenchman, this country for some years was known as a vaguely defined land with cities, as New York, Boston, New Orleans, with curiosities as Indians, Niagara, racing and exploding steamboats. A visit was necessarily adventurous. The public was composed chiefly of barbarians. Art was a dictionary word without significance. The inhabitants were given over to money making. It was the duty of a foreigner to take as much of this money as possible to some European city, where the art of spending was better understood, where all sister arts were really appreciated. Musicians of divers sorts came and went. They were successful, or they failed. The land itself was considered as Tom Tiddler's ground; it is so considered today, and singing men and women, fiddlers, pianists, conductors, cross the Atlantic to stand on it and pick up gold and silver.

The Americans have been characterized as the most sentimental people on earth. Charles Reade said in *Foul Play* that we are the most generous; is it true that we are the most sensitive? For many years we hungered and thirsted after the approbation of older nations. "What do you think of our institutions?" When the answer was and is unfavorable, how hot the indignation. Even Lowell in his essay on a certain condescension in foreigners showed mental uneasiness, perturbation of mind. He was itching to ask: "Why should they be so condescending? Are we not as a nation, etc.?" We

are not contented with the prudently or rashly expressed opinions of visiting statesmen, army and navy officers, clergymen, scientists, essayists; we must know what play-actors, play-actresses, opera singers, virtuosos, composers, think of us. This curiosity is something more than a symptom of mummer worship.

Does the London public care what Pachmann, Kreisler, Mary Garden, Chaliapin, may think of it? Should Mr. Koussevitzky take a dismal view of London orchestras, the reply would be a stony stare. Was the English public seriously disturbed by the unpleasant remarks of Emerson and Hawthorne? If a virtuoso, visiting Paris, should criticize severely the works of the modern French school, or find fault with the taste of a Châtelet audience as displayed by the distribution of applause throughout a concert, there might be a few newspaper jests; a writer in a music journal might dispute the justice of the criticism, but the great public would be indifferent or chauvinistically self-complacent. Paris does not think she is the art center of the world; she knows it. London, Dresden, Vienna, Milan — these cities have had musical traditions for years. An American might say that operas are performed at Covent Garden with casts that would raise a storm of indignation at the Metropolitan; yet the London audience filled the opera house and was loud in applause. Was not the superb Handel an opera manager in that city years before Gen. George Washington assumed command of the Continental troops?

These singing men and women and players on musical instruments have little or nothing to say about the audiences and the condition of music in European cities when in the cities themselves. When these strollers are in Boston or New York, they are easily induced to make comparisons; they then remember their triumphs in the European towns; you never hear of their failures in the presence of those highly cultured audiences and under truly artistic conditions.

The simple early visitors were satisfied if the season was a profitable one, if they were public favorites. What Manuel Garcia and his daughter Maria (afterwards Mme. Malibran) thought way down in the heart about the New York public of 1825, we shall never know. We do know that they were

glad to meet Da Ponte, the librettist of "The Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni." He could tell them about Mozart's purposes and the original stage business. Their successors came, sang, accepted philosophically the queer American ways or growled about them; they gossiped, no doubt, with countrymen in exile over an Italian dish and an Italian bottle. The great violinist Vieuxtemps, who visited us more than once, found us at first barbarians. When he came for the last time he appreciated the advance in musical taste and knowledge; but he wrote no book; he made no long-winded statements for publication. We know his impressions and opinions chiefly through his biographers, and they say little or nothing.

One of the first to publish his views on the condition of music in the United States was Josef Gungl, a composer of dances famous in his day. He wrote for German edification bitter, amusing, and in a measure truthful letters concerning his experiences. John S. Dwight translated portions of these letters and published them in his journal.

What was the musical taste of the Boston public when Gungl visited us in 1849? It should be remembered that the musical taste of Charleston, S. C., of cities in Virginia, of Philadelphia, was far higher than it was in Boston, and had been before the 19th century. George William Curtis said in 1891 that the average musical taste in 1862 reached its apogee in a rhapsody for tin pans known as "The Battle of Prague." Favorite concert pieces were "The Skinners' Quickstep," the "Firefly Polka;" above all "The Firemen's Quadrille," in which, when it was properly performed, firemen appeared in full uniform and danced to the delight of the audience. (Some years later, firemen at a Peace Jubilee in Boston aroused enthusiasm by assisting in a stentorian performance of the "Anvil Chorus" from "Il Trovatore.") A performer on the concertina would show how it could be played with one hand, or while it was "collapsing upon his eminent forehead or nose." [1] About 1852, Master Marsh, at the age of four years (according to advertisements), performing on two drums, was the most renowned musical attraction in New York. The late William Foster Apthorp heard in this city in 1854 or 1855 "The Railroad Galop." On the stage, to heighten the effect,

[1] Charles Edward Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas.*

a miniature locomotive ran round in a circle with a tuft of black wool attached to its funnel to simulate smoke. Gungl saw, or said he saw, J. L. Hatton, the pianist and composer, at a concert appear with sleigh bells fastened to his right leg. When he came to the proper place in the piece he was playing, something about a sleigh ride, he shook this leg violently while an assistant made a noise like the cracking of a whip. "And this thing," said the scornful Gungl, "aroused a storm of applause, which had no end until they had repeated it several times."

There were many infant phenomena. In New York the program of the Euterpean Society bore this note: "No gentleman will be permitted to wear his hat in the room during the evening or dance in his boots. Standing on the seats is strictly prohibited." It was about this time that the custom of sitting in the front row of a theater balcony and resting the feet on the top of the railing was much condemned. The Rev. Richard Storrs Willis, as late as 1857, had preached against the bad manners of audiences at Philharmonic concerts. At a trumpet-blowing at Niblo's Garden, when the award was made, there was a fist-fight, a riot, and the police were called in.

One of the first books, if not the first, written by a visiting musician about this country was by Henri Kowalski, a Parisian by birth, a second- or third-rate pianist and composer. He landed in New York in 1869. His book was published in Paris three years later, when we fondly believed that we were civilized. He not only played notes, he took them. And what did he not discuss in this extraordinary volume? Manners, customs, Jim Fisk, scenery, politics, religion. Let us listen to his opinions on music as known and practised in the United States:

"If the Londoner or cockney (*sic*) speaks English in his throat, the New Yorker speaks it through his nose. This is not agreeable to a musician. No American composer rose above mediocrity. They all wrote only piano pieces or songs. Gottschalk was the most original of American musicians. "He made much money, but lost it all at the gaming table." He died and left behind him only unpublished manuscripts written while he was travelling or "on the corner of a monte-table." The New Yorkers idolized him and raised his statue

in Central Park. The American pianists sought to please by acrobatic force. " The American public as a rule delights in eccentric artists." There were many singers with good voices, " but voice without method, without style, without the sacred fire, is matter without spirit." The music schools were merely industrial enterprises. " A speculator rents and furnishes a building in a central position, chooses teachers, and then noisily advertises the opening of a conservatory." The orchestras were made up of Germans or Italians. Operatic performances in Boston and New York were for the display of a star. American pianos had more power; French pianos more " civilization." The American people, " religious, cold, methodistical," enjoyed the music of Handel and Mendelssohn. Dan Bryant's Minstrels gave one of the most original entertainments in the country.

Mr. Kowalski preferred Boston to New York. " It deserves the name," he wrote, " the Athens of America, for the study of Grecian and Roman antiquities is pursued there to the utmost. A discussion concerning the precise meaning of a verse from the ' Aeneid ' or of a phrase in the ' Iliad ' will sometimes excite as much interest in Boston as a presidential message of General Grant. Sumner, the great defender of negroes, also known as lawyer, legislator, secretary, was born in Boston, the birthplace of Benjamin Franklin. Butler, the adversary of Grant, perhaps his successor, is also a Bostonian." Several important magazines, published at Boston, were edited by women. The two most popular poets in the United States were Washington Irving and Longfellow. Mr. William Pope, our epic poet, like Homer, went from town to town reciting his verses, and was " a great attraction."

At Chicago Mr. Kowalski was so fortunate as to see Lydia Thompson, " the queen of the blondes and the Schneider of America. She was the toast of that town because she had thrashed the editor of the *Times*. The poor man, not knowing how to rise above his shameful position, finally killed himself."

Let us quote again from Mr. Kowalski's book: " Each large town in America possesses at least half a dozen musical societies which are generally composed of Germans. I have heard more than a thousand miles from New York, orchestral performances of works of Raff, Brahms, Liszt, Schumann,

Berlioz, which we have known in France only during the last ten years." At Milwaukee Mr. Kowalski played a fantasia on airs from a then unpublished opera by Wagner. He had never heard the airs, but he wished to please the Germans, so he improvised a piece with successions of diminished seventh chords in the treble and with a broad melody in the bass. It was necessary to do tricks in Western cities. "Leopold de Meyer played fantasias for the left hand while he ate vanilla ice-cream with his right; Wehli played a military piece; when he wished to imitate the cannons, he sat down on the keys in the lowest bass. I remember the case of a pianist who played concert pieces with a clothes-brush and I thought I could use the brim of a hat in like manner. It is unnecessary to tell you that the announcement of a concert polka performed, with the aid of an opera hat, drew a crowd. Two hatters called on me afterwards and asked permission to give my name to a hat just invented by them."

Kowalski's book is superficial, contemptuous; yet it contains shrewd observations. There are remarks that might be pondered with profit today.

Oscar Comettant, a versatile, amusing journalist, who, as about other things, wrote jauntily about music in Paris and out of it, one of the most inaccurate of men when he girded up his loins for a serious literary undertaking, visited this country in the early fifties. He published his book, *Trois Ans aux États-Unis: Étude des Mœurs et Coutumes Américaines,* which went into several editions (Paris, 1858). In this entertaining volume Comettant stated that music was more assiduously cultivated here than were the sister arts, although it was not better appreciated. Gottschalk, the most distinguished of American composers, was a Frenchman through and through who happened to be born at New Orleans. What had he to do in a country where, after a brilliant performance, one of his hearers slapped him on the shoulder, and said: "That's good exercise in cold weather!" Comettant quoted this review published in an American newspaper after the memorable concert: "I do not like music, and of all instrumental performers pianists are the least endurable. For this reason I was not bored at Mr. Kowalski's concert; I heard neither music nor a pianist." Nor had other artists fared bet-

ter. Mmes. Malibran, Bosio, Tedesco, Laborde, Damoreau-Cinti, had all wasted time here and gained little money. Mme. Alboni and Paul Jullien saved little or nothing. "Mr. S., pianist to the Duchess of Montpensier, is playing the piano in taverns in New York, to put whisky drinkers in good humor. Lately one of them came up to him, and by way of a joke, gouged out one of his eyes." The opera had ruined all the managers in turn. The manager of Jullien's orchestra lost 250,000 francs in six months, although Jullien conducted all sorts of music, romantic, diabolical, charivaresque, and pan-cophonous. Leopold de Meyer gave pleasure only because he wore trousers with enormous checks and gave bouquets to the women in the audience, to whom he threw kisses. Henri Herz once advertised a concert to be given by the light of a thousand candles. Thalberg was forced to open a restaurant in which, between oyster-soup and ham, fair women begged him to play one of his celebrated fantasias. A violinist dressed himself as a traditional devil to play the "Carnival of Venice." There were concerts with some piquant attraction, concerts religious, dancing with a lottery, historical, improvised, comic, pyro-technic, enigmatical, Bacchic, gastronomic. Comettant heard in Boston "a man with a detestable voice give, unaided, lucrative concerts, unaccompanied, and for three consecutive hours he sang the soporific psalm-tunes of all religions and sects." The favorite instrument had been the accordion which had replaced the jack-knife found formerly in the hands of every Yankee; but the piano had succeeded the accordion.

Was this a faithful picture?

We know that the voluptuous Fortunata Tedesco, who came to Boston as a member of the Havana Opera Company in 1847, and dazzled eyes and charmed ears at the Howard Athenæum, was the rage; that tickets for her performances sold at a premium of four to five dollars a seat; that the honors paid to her attained their greatest excess when a prominent citizen and heated admirer threw at her feet his hat and cane in token of entire prostration, due to the revelation of her bodily and vocal fascination. Not without cause was she chosen for Venus in the first Parisian performance of Richard Wagner's "Tannhäuser." Mr. Comettant informs us that a mint julep is made with Madeira as a basis; that half-and-half is half

water and half brandy; that the name of a once popular drink, the "thorough knock-me-down" is to be translated into French *casse poitrine*. He saw and heard strange things even in Boston. "An American assured me — and I have no reason to doubt his word — that he called daily on a young lady in Boston at her home. He never met her parents; they never questioned his visits. She had not found it proper to present the young man to her family; the family respecting individual liberty, had not demanded acquaintanceship. The parents often gave up the parlor to their daughter, and withdrew whenever the visitor came to spend the evening."

Although Louis Moreau Gottschalk was born at New Orleans of an English father, his mother, a Creole, was of French descent and aristocratic connections. Louis was French by education, in his tastes, in his outlook on life. He was something of a philosopher; a keen observer of our merits and failings. A brilliant and poetic pianist, he was born as one out of due time to find the appreciation in Boston that he deserved, for the late John S. Dwight, who fondly believed that no music existed for the piano that did not come from Germany, could not possibly understand Gottschalk's compositions or his playing, and assailed him unjustly, ignorantly, cruelly in his *Journal of Music*. Gottschalk died at a village near Rio de Janeiro in December, 1869. The diary kept by him for many years was translated from the French, edited by his sister and published as *Notes of a Pianist* in 1881. It is not only readable, this volume of nearly five hundred pages; it is a valuable contribution to the social, musical and political history of the country; political, for he was an enthusiastic and brave supporter of the Northern cause during the Civil War, and did not hesitate to express opinions concerning the policy of the government and the conduct of leading men. But here we are interested only with what he had to say about New England.

His first visit left him disagreeable impressions. He was then by his concerts paying debts of his father and supporting his mother and six brothers and sisters. Just before his first or second concert in Boston, he received a despatch saying that his father was dying. A newspaper said that it was doubtless unfortunate that he had lost his father, but the public had

paid a dollar for the purpose of receiving a dollar's worth of music and had nothing to do with Mr. Gottschalk's personal affairs. Mr. Dwight attacked him as usual.

One critic in the course of this tour devoted a column to his kid gloves, personal appearance and French manners. (It was then the custom with many visiting pianists to come gloved on the platform; to remove the gloves leisurely before playing. Even Bülow did this at his last visit.)

Gottschalk found Portsmouth a charming little town. "Our arrival was an event. A number of charming young girls passed before the hotel with the evident intention of seeing us and being admired. They are very pretty, though a little provincial in their stiffness." The hall in Portland was one of the finest in the world for acoustic properties. Salem, a small town. "Before the commercial development of Boston, it had a large trade with India; now it is torpid. The old and rich merchants of Boston retire here." This reminds us that Albert Gallatin Browne, born in Salem, Governor Andrew's secretary, lawyer, journalist, banker, once told us that Salem was the city of the unburied dead. "Leaving at eight o'clock," wrote Gottschalk, "there remains for us the perspective of passing a Sunday at Salem. 'Rather die,' said Susini."

Touring, Gottschalk went one Sunday morning into a hotel parlor. "I found two ladies with their Sunday faces on — that is, looking as dismal as possible. I also found there a large Bible. To judge from appearances Sunday is a day devoted to lamenting the irreparable affliction which God has inflicted on us by the gift of existence." He then, speaking of Bible societies and their widespread distributions, refers to soldiers no doubt lighting their pipes with "the erotic heat of the Canticle of Canticles of Solomon."

Boston was to him "par excellence the aristocratic city;" the one that had shaken off the yoke of the metropolis and retained the most English-like appearance. "It pretends to be the most intellectual in the United States." The university at Cambridge was the most celebrated in the country. "Her poets are known the world over. She had for eight years possessed the largest organ in America." Tremont Hall was the best for hearing, the most magnificent concert hall in the world. Providence preserved the rigidity of its founders. There had

been some progress in Boston. "One can now smoke in the streets and carriages can be driven. Boston, you are stiff, pedantic, exclusive. Your enemies say that you are cold and morose. I say that you are intelligent, literary, polished." Longfellow called on him, and Gottschalk regretted bitterly that he was not at the hotel. He enjoyed a visit to the bookshop of Ticknor and Fields; also the call on Mrs. Fields. "The generous hospitality she offers to her guests is worthy of the reputation which she bears, and answers to the idea which one forms voluntarily of the culture and urbanity of the society of the modern Athens."

These few extracts give only a faint idea of an unusually entertaining volume.

Hans von Bülow first visited us in 1875. A man of an aristocratic family, a university man, a man of reading, learning, wit that could be bitter, famous as a pianist, conductor, writer on musical subjects, independent, fearless, he had passed through deep waters. Unlike Cato, the sententious, he had not lent his wife Cosima to any young Hortensius; his friend Wagner had stolen her from him; and she was not unwilling. Yet Bülow continued to work in the cause of Wagner, the composer, not the man.

We know of Bülow's impressions of American cities from his letters, for like his father-in-law Liszt he was a voluminous letter writer.

In Boston he found Chickering a charming man; the public also charming, "a corrected edition of London and Edinburgh audiences." He took off his hat to the men who had puffed him in advance.

> Such tact, efficiency. . . . The New World is at least 66⅔ per cent more endurable than the old. Orchestral players and conductors mostly German, capable, their intelligence not yet drowned in beer. . . . In comparison with this country I find Europe more than half a century behind in civilization and in a state of mediæval barbarism. Noble country — famous folk! . . . Railway cars like cabins, wonderfully heated, beds of an excellence wholly undreamed of in Germany. One fully undresses, is awakened by a black at the right time, who shines the shoes at night, waked at the right time so that one can make his 'wash-toilet.' . . . Journalists are of fine feeling, distinguished thought; as writers, skilled and original.

Yet Bülow headed one of his letters "Indianapolis (very little civilized city)." He enjoyed our Indian summer; was glad that he began to play in our Athens, not in Yankeepolis. He did not agree with the one who said that the principal freedoms to be found in this country are those which people take with you. On the contrary the New Englanders are a greatly improved edition of the old ones, much warmer than the Old Englanders, with much better manners. "And there is more ginger in them. Do you understand the Americanism? It is a good one; and sounds better than the French 'chien.'" They are delightful letters. In one written to the editor of the *New York Herald,* he began: "Allow me most humbly to decline the honor given me by the musical critic of the *Herald* in calling me the son-in-law of Abbé Liszt, this honor belonging since 1870 exclusively to the composer of 'Lohengrin,' Richard Wagner, Esq." He found the American women fifty per cent superior to the French women of the 18th century. He found the Boston audience later "a little Methodist." Reading Sardou's *Uncle Sam* he found it capital, although a much exaggerated picture of American manners and morals. He was delighted with Lillian Russell, seeing her in one of Offenbach's operettas.

A visiting musician's opinions on a city or a country are naturally shaped more or less by his success or neglect. A European reputation is too often an affair of the cable; we have learned to hear for ourselves. A pianist may be characterized in Germany as the greatest interpreter of Beethoven — perhaps he suffers a sea change — yet in Symphony Hall he may be found dry and boresome. The violinist that quickens the pulse or softens the heart in London or Paris may in Boston be praised only for technical facility.

The visitor, often unacquainted with the language, is disconcerted by American manners and customs; when he is not artistically or pecuniarily successful he recounts his grievances in formulating judgment on purely artistic manners; rooms and railway cars are overheated in winter; he may not find food in certain towns after eleven P.M.; prohibition reigns; the hustle and rush disturb him; the streets are noisy; someone in an adjoining room objects to practice late at night; therefore we are all uncivilized beings who do not understand music.

Naturally reserved hearers recall a singer only twice; in Milan he was recalled sixteen times.

The most intelligent visitors often reason from the particular to the general. They forget that in this country, comparatively new and recently mighty, there has been no long line of potentates interested in music, no succession of princes ready to support opera or orchestra, nor have there been generations of composers, chapel-masters, organists, deeply versed in their art. For years this country was busied in making a nation. There was no time, no money for the luxuries and the graces, except possibly in one or two cities in which men and women of foreign extraction exerted influence. The country as a country was not musical. The traditions were against music except as an aid to worship. There was a prejudice against opera, operatic singers, and all fiddlers. Artemus Ward, probably not in earnest, voiced the opinion of many when, going to hear young Adelina Patti sing, he wrote: " As fur Brignoly, Ferri, and Junky, they air doutless grate, but I think sich able boddied men wood look better tillin the sile than dressin theirselves up in black close and white kid glovs & shoutin in a furrin tung. Mister Junky is a noble lookin old man, and orter lead armies on to Battel instid of shoutin in a furrin tung."

The advance in late years has been enormous; somewhat feverish; somewhat superficial. Money can bring singers, players, conductors, across the Atlantic every season; it cannot in the twinkling of an eye make a public musical throughout the land, or even in one city.

General SCHAFF read a paper on " Fact and Imagery in Writing History."

Mr. FORD submitted a note on

A PLEADING OF WILLIAM LEDDRA, 1659

In January, 1903, I communicated to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts a letter of the Quaker Christopher Holder, dated Rhode Island, September 5, 1659, taking the form of a " Warninge. From. The Spirit. of the Lord. To the Gouernor:

& Magistrates: & People of The Masathusets Bay: " The original document is in the Chamberlain Collection in the Boston Public Library and is well reproduced in photogravure in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society, VIII. 72. This autumn Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes showed me a document, composed by another Quaker, William Leddra, and has since given it to this Society. The two papers are in the same writing and were copied by the scribe within two months of one another. The Leddra document is not only the earlier in date but its contents differ from those of other Quaker missives. It is not a " warning " to the authorities and people of Massachusetts to repent and reform their cruel practices; it is not an address to their fellow Quakers, words of encouragement or farewell; it is not a statement of what the Quakers professed and practised, to the great discomfort of their neighbors and the cause of the persecution. Leddra questions the right of Massachusetts to forbid his return to the Colony on pain of death, having been once driven forth and warned. It is thus a " brief " such as a lawyer might prepare on a question of law, but in place of the statutes of the realm Leddra goes to the Scriptures, thus basing his pleadings on an authority which the Bay authorities would hardly question, however much they might differ from Leddra in interpreting the texts. The precedent taken is apt and pertinent, though the statement of it suffers in the cloudy expressions and the curious manner of pointing the sentences — if the marks were intended for points. The beauty of the script proves the skill of the scribe, and he would probably be found among the Quakers, for there was risk in even writing or copying such documents. It is the only pleading of its kind that I have met among the records of the Quakers in the period of their persecution by Massachusetts Bay.

On William Leddra the account given by Palfrey is sufficient to indicate the charge brought against him, his conduct during his enforced stay in the Bay Colony, and the price exacted for his refusal to yield to the authorities and modify his behavior.

William Leddra, for making disturbances at Salem and Newbury, had been committed to the House of Correction at Boston.

There he refused to work for his food, and, having been repeatedly scourged, was at last dismissed, with the threat of death if he should return. He returned and was put in prison. On his trial the offer of liberation was made to him, if he would engage to go to England; but he rejected it, saying that he had no business there. He was condemned and executed. "All that will be Christ's disciples," he said at the foot of the ladder, "must take up the cross." The last words heard from his lips were those of the martyr Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." [1]

Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson, who were hanged for the same reason as led to Leddra's death, wrote a long "warning" from "The Common Gaol, in the BLOODY TOWN of Boston, the 6th Month, 1659" and Robinson sent a message to his "Brethren and Sisters" from "the Hole of the Condemned," October 16, 1659. Communications were also sent out by Stevenson and Mary Dyer, both under sentence, in October and November. Leddra sent a missive "To Friends in New England" from "Boston-Prison in New-England, 1660" some three months before he suffered, and William Coddington of Rhode Island preserved a copy. Leddra also wrote a second "Epistle" to Friends, dating it from "Boston-Gaol, the 13th of the first Month [March], 1660/61", the day before he was executed. All these documents are printed in Bishope's *New England Judged*, and that writer has given a detailed account of the treatment of Leddra by the authorities, or by his jailors, with or without the direction of the authorities,[2] an account which loses little by the simple terms in which it is cast.

The text of the document given by Justice Holmes is as follows:

I with : many others of my Brethren : have been often accused by many of the Rulers : & others of the People : of New England to have walked contrary to the example & practiz : of the servantes of God : declared of in Scripture : charginge vs that we come into places : where there are lawes & decrees made ag[ains]t : vs : & where we know we shall be persecuted; which thinge you : haue often : declaired (in my hearing) the Serv[an]tes : of Christ did not doe : but when they were persecuted : in one Citty : did flee

[1] *History of New England*, II. 480.

[2] Bishope, 235–334.

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into another : that the Serva[n]tes of Christ often did flee from one place to another : from the rage of their : Enemies : is true : and at other times they did not goe : but were expelled : out of their Coastes : but for you to say they returned not againe : is vtterly falce : and also your : saying : they went not where they knew [3] they should be persecuted : in that you greatly err : for the holy Ghost : by which they knew all thinges : & which brought all thinges to their Remembrance : accordinge to the promise of Christ witnessed to Paul : that in every citty : bondes & Afflictiones abide him : but none of these things moved him : which : witness is true : & was & is the guide & leader : into all truth : & many times Paul : with Peter : John & others : wente often to such places where before they had been : Despitefully vsed : persecuted. & afflicted would any speake so often to the contrary : but such as neither knowes the power of God : nor the Scriptures : & to charge vs as you haue done when we came againe : amongst you : as if we did acte contrary to that sayinge of Christ : when you are persecuted in one Citty : flee vnto another : did he Ever say they must not returne againe : did not [he] say let vs : goe againe : & visitt our Brethren : in Every Citty : where we haue preached the word of the lord : & se how they doe : & such as reades the Actes : may heare : how he had been persecuted : & if there be any who[ ]ly haue : been led aside : by this falce & abominable thinge : soe comonly reported : in New Engl[and] : (as to Joyne. with : those : who haue . invented it . to cover their Cruelty :) Either to speake evill of the way of God : or to persecute his people : without Searchinge the Scriptures : to se whether it were so : for their Sakes and all others who desires to be informed & (that they may no longer walke with Slaunders & with a Lye in their hand) I shall Cleare it from the Scriptures in the behalfe of the Truth : though for my selfe I doe vnfaignedly say : I can with patience beare : what : they haue done with me . to this very houre : & do desire that the lord would not lay it to their charge : For surely if they knew what they did they would not doe as they haue done in this thing : Bely the Ministeres of Christ and lay waste the Scriptures : as the sober Reader : shall hereafter fynd they haue done : But there is a Generation : that are so leauened : with : malice : & wickedness that though the truth be declaired never soe plaine : yet will not believe it : but are ready to stopp their Eares : like the blind persecutors of old : (and if they doe take vp Stones to Stone the publishers of it :) yet still continues their persecution : and soe become like the deafe adder : which will not heare the voice

[3] In margin : Actes : 20 : 23 :

of the Charmer : charminge never soe wisely : & such allwayes resisted the holy ghost : & will neither Enter them : selfes : nor suffer them that would : but as any comes preaching the kingdome of God : which is likened to the least of all seedes : (but the persecuting : spiritt : canot vnderstand this parrable : neither is it given them to know the Misteryes of Godes kingdome :) they persecute those that preach it : as their forefathers did : actes : 4 : 1 : 3 : And as they spake vnto the people : the priestes & the Captaine of the Temple : came vpon them : & laid handes on them : & put them in hold till the next day : ver : 18 : & they called them & commanded them : not to speak at all : nor teach in name of Jesus : But Peter & John answered & said vnto them : whether it be right . in the Sight of God to hearken vnto you : more then vnto God : Judge yee . for we canot but speake the thinges which we have seen & heard : & when they had further threaghtened them : they let them : goe : after this Peter & John : went vnto their owne Company: & they lifted up their voices to God with one accorde sayinge : ver : 29 : & now Lord Behold their threaghteninges : and grant vnto thy Serv[an]tes : that with all boldness : they may speake thy word : Actes : 5 : 17 : then the high priest rose vp : and all they that were with : him : (which is the sect of the Saduces :) & were fylled with Indignation : & laid their handes on the Apostles : & Put them in the Comon Prison : ver : 28 : & when they were brought before them : they asked them : saying : did not we straightly Commannd you : that you : should not teach in this name . & behold you : have fylled Jerusalem : with your Doctrine : then Peter & the other Apostles : answered . we ought to obey God rather then men : ver : 40 : 41 : 42 : & when they had beaten : them : they comaunded them : that they should not speake in the Name of Jesus : & let them : goe : and they departed from the presence of the Councell : Rejoiceing that they were Counted worthy to suffer for his name (they did not flee the Citty) but dayly in the temple & in every house : they seased not to teach & preach : Jesus Christ : chap : 6 : & in those dayes the Number of Disciples : was multiplied & the word of God increased and persecution : also increased : for when they had disputeinge with steven A man full of the holy Ghost : they were not able to resiste : the wisdom & Spiritt : by which he spake : then they suborned : which said we haue heard him speake : blasphemous wordes ag[ains]t Moses & ag[ains]t God : chap : 8 : at that time. there was great persecution ag[ains]t the Church which was at Jerusalem : & they were all scatered abroad . throughout the Regions of Judea : & samaria : Except the

Apostles : Marke : the Apostles were not yet fled : as for Saul he made havocke of the Church : Entringe into Every house & hailing men & women committed them to prison : & therefore they were scatered abroad : went everywhere . preachinge the Word : ver : 14 : & when the Apostles : which were at Jerusalem : heard that Samaria : had rec[eive]d the word of God : they sente vnto them Peter & John : & when they had Testified & preached the Word of the Lord : returned to Jerusalem . where there had been great persecution : ag[ains]t the Church : & can you : read these Scriptures : & yet say that the Serv[an]tes of Christ : after they were persecuted in any place . returned not thither againe : chap. 9 : & Paul after he was converted : taryed Certaine dayes with : the Disciples : which were at Damascus : & straight way he preached Christ in the Sinag[ogue] that he is the Sone of God : & confounded the Jewes which dwelt at Damascus : provinge that this is the very Christ : & after that many dayes were fullfilled : the Jewes tooke Councell to kill him : but their layinge : [*blot*] was knowne : then the Desciples tooke him by night : & let him downe by the wall : in a Basket : & when Saul . was come to Jerusalem : he asayed to Joyne himselfe to the Desciples : but they were all afraid of him : but Barnabas tooke him : & brought him to the Apostles : & he was with : them : coming in & out at Jerusalem : & he spake boldly : in the name of the lord Jesus : & disputed ag[ains]t the gretians : but they went about to slay him : which when the Brethren knew : they brought him to Sesaria : & it came to pass : as Peter passed throughout all Quarters : Actes : 11 : 2 : he came again to Jerusalem : where he had been :Imprisoned Beaten: & the Church : had been greatly persecuted : ver : 28 : & when it was Signified : by the Spiritt . that there should be a dearth : throughout the World : the Desciples : every man according to his Abilitie. determined to send reliefe : vnto the Brethren : which : dwelt in Judea : which also they did & sente it by the handes of Barnabas & Saul : chap : 12 : 15 : & Barnabas : & Saul ; returned from : Jerusalem (where before they sought to slay him) when they had fullfilled their Ministry (let the hireling : Ministers mind this well :) that when they had fullfilled their Ministry they departed : & the persecutores : also may take notice : that they wente away of their own accord : & after in actes : 13 : 4 : they being sent forth : by the holy Ghost : departed & preaching the Word of God . in divers places : they came to Antioch : & went into the Sinagogue on the Sabath : day : & sate downe & after the reading of the law and the prophetes : the Ruler of the Sinagogue : sent vnto them : saying : ye Men & Brethren : if you haue a word of Exor-

tation : to the people say on : & paul stood vp & said : Men of Israell give audience : So when he had declaired & preached Christ vnto them : & the Congregation was broken vp : many of the Jewes & religious proselites followed Paul : & barnabas who speaking to them : perswaded them to continue in the grace of God : & the next Sabath : came almost the whole Citty togeather : to heare the word of God : But when the Jewes saw the Multitude : they were fylled with Envy & spake ag[ainst] those thinges which were spoken by Paul : contradicting : & blaspheminge : ver : 50 : & stired vp the devoute & honnorable women & the cheeffe men of the Citty : & raised persecution ag[ains]t : Paul & barnabas : & Expelled them out of their Coastes : but they shooke of the Dust of their feett ag[ain]st : them : & came to Iconium : actes : 14 : where many people believed : but when the Citty was devided . & an Assault made to vse them Despitefully : & to stone them they were aware of it : & fled vnto : Listra : & Derbe : & the regions roundaboute : and there they preached the Gospell : ver : 19 : & there came theither Jewes from Antioch : & Iconium : who perswaded the people : & having stoned P[aul] drew him out of the Citty : Suposeinge he had been dead : how be it as the Desciples : stood round aboute him : he rose vp & came into the Citty : & the next day departed : with : barnabas : to Derbe : & when they had preached the Gospell to that Citty : they returned againe to Listra : where before he had been stoned : & to Iconium : from whence they fled vnto Listra : & in returninge did not act Contrary to the wordes of Christ wherein is said . if they persecute you in one Citty flee vnto another : But where Doth he say . they must not returne againe : therefore in that thing the persecutors in this generation: may heareafter be silent : and returned also to antioch : where before they had raised persecution ag[ain]st : them : & Expelled them : out of their Coastes : confirminge the Soules of the Desciples : & Exhorting them to continue : in the faith : & that we must through great tribulation Enter into the Kingdome of God : & not withstandinge all the Envy and rage of the wicked : & all the Cruell & vnreasonable vsage : of their Enemies : they went divers times into the Cittyes & places where they had been : preaching the word : to strengthen & Confirme the Soules of those . they had begote through their Ministry : into the like pretious faith : with : them : much more might be said to this thing . but this may satisfy all reasonable people : seing their accusation : is thus farr clearly proved : to be falce : By the Scriptures of Truth : & the Scripture fullfilled vpon them : the wicked shall be Silente . in Darkness: —

The Lip of Truth : shall be Established for Ever : But a Lying . Tongue : is but for a Moment : Pro : 12 : 19 :

Wm. Leddra.

From the Prison : Plymouth : this : 19 : of the 5 mo : 59 :

[Endorsed:] A Paper : of W : L : showinge By Script[ure] that the Serva[n]tes of the Lord . Called . Quak[e]rs doth not acte contrary to the Serva[n]tes of God, in former Ages : decl[ar]ed of in Scripture : in returninge againe : vnto such places : where they haue bene persecuted : & By so doeinge doth not act contrary to Christes saying : if They persecute you in one Ci[ty] flee vnto : another proued by scripture :

Mr. Norcross contributed copies of two letters:

John Burgoyne to William Heath

Cambridge, Jany. 17th, 1778.

Sir, — Your Commissary Mr. Miller [1] has met Mr. Commissary Clarke and I inclose you the report made to me in consequence of that meeting in order that you may see whether Mr. Clarke has made any mistake, and determine whether you abide by the demand as stated by Mr. Clarke.[2]

I request the favour of your answer in the course of the day and Mr. Clarke will be ready to set out tomorrow.[3] If you thought proper to depute any person at Cambridge to take his parole and examine his letters which at your desire will be very few in number, it will be an obligation to him; otherwise, he will wait upon you at any time you shall appoint tomorrow morning.

I submit to you whether it would not be a circumstance of convenience and dispatch for the officer that goes to General Gates; to set out with Mr. Clarke, if so, he shall also wait upon you with his letters and give his parole.[4]

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your favour last night, repeating your call of the names, size, age, etc, of the troops of the Convention; [5] my opinion not being changed

[1] Charles Miller, Deputy Commissary General.

[2] The report, dated Jan. 14, 1778, is *infra*.

[3] He wished to lay the accounts before General Howe. His parole is in the Heath Papers, dated Jan. 18, 1778.

[4] Lieut. George Vallancey.

[5] See Heath to Burgoyne, Jan. 14, 1778, *infra*.

I am under the necessity of referring you to my former letter upon that subject; assuring you at the same time, that if you will point out to me the instances you allude to, where similar demands have been made by British Officers, and complied with, I will give the matter further consideration and further answer. In Canada I know the case was directly the reverse.[6] I am Sir your obedient Servant

J. BURGOYNE.

P.S. Since writing the above Col. Chase [7] has delivered an account amounting to £13175 : 6 *s* : 11 *d* commission money at 5 per cent included; And he informs me that he has orders to demand the payment in hard money. I must desire you to let me know whether this is a determination you mean to abide by.

J. B.

ZACHARY TAYLOR TO BRANTZ MAYER

BATON ROUGE LA. MAY 1, 1848

DEAR SIR, — I have, by this day's mail, received a copy (duplicate) of your letter of March 21. with an enclosed copy of the proceedings of a Meeting helde by the citisens of Baltimore who are friendly to my election to the Presidency.

The political sentiments embraced in the preamble and Resolutions adopted at that meeting, I rejoice to say, meet with my cordial approval and assent. No movements in any part of the country, having the object to offer testimonials of honor and respect towards myself or to advocate my election to the Presidency, have caused in me more lively pleasure or demand more my gratitude.

You will please do me the favor to make known my acknowledgements to the citisens of Baltimore for the unexpected and unmerited honors they have conferred upon me, in such manner and terms as you may deem most proper.

They are obligations which, should the votes of the country be cast in my favor, it will most surely be my endeavor to redeem to themselves and to all the people of our Country.

I must be permitted to add, that, as they have, with so much confidence, placed my name in nomination before the country on their own responsibility, free of party action and the exaction of pledges from myself, I shall serve them strictly as a Constitutional and not as a party President, (in the event already alluded to) and as my ability will permit.

[6] *Ib.* [7] Thomas Chase, Deputy Quartermaster General.

Please accept my thanks for the kind sentiments you have, in forwarding the proceedings of the meeting, been pleased to express towards me.

With sentiments of cordial respect and regard, Your mo : obedient servant

Z. TAYLOR.

Addressed: Brantz. Mayer Esq. Secry. pub. meeting, Baltimore, Md.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

The letter of General Burgoyne is one of a number of papers that passed between him and General Heath on the questions of supplies, prices and mode of payment, questions, the solution of which finally rested upon the resolutions of the Continental Congress. The justice of the solution has since been debated by historians and no agreement reached. From the Heath Papers in the Society's Cabinet are drawn other letters relating to the particular incident mentioned in Burgoyne's letter.

ASST. COMMISSARY GENERAL CLARKE TO BURGOYNE

CAMBRIDGE, 14th January, 1778.

SIR, — Having carefully examined the Accounts, I had the honor to receive from your Excellency of Provisions furnished the Troops of the Convention since their arrival at Cambridge, I begg leave to report.

That a memorandum inserted at the foot of the Account, vizt. "that the wages and Rations of the issuing Commissary, his Clerk's and Assistant's, are not included in the Acco[un]t," has the appearance of the Account being incompleat, that your Excellency will be subjected to further demands, and charges of a nature unexpected, not being understood by the Convention.

That, the quantity of Provision charged in the Account exceeds the quantity received by the Troop's and for which I have given Monthly General receipt's.

That, no Currency is fixed to the Acco[un]t, or, if paid for in hard Cash, no proportion fix'd.

Regarding the Account of Provision delivered at Worcester, I pray leave to recommend, that it be included in one Acco[un]t, of the whole quantity furnish'd from the day of the Convention, to that, of their arrival at this place and to prevent any delay, or difficulty in ascertaining the quantity for want of small voucher's, that the number of Ration's be taken from the Regimental return's during that period, or from their first Provision return, after their arrival here.

I conceive, Sir, with submission to your opinion, and that of Major

General Heath's, that the only just, clear, and decisive, method of stating this Accounts, is, as the number of Ration's received by the troop's from Novem[be]r 6th to Decem[be]r 31st is clearly ascertained to Amount to 311,633 Ration's, those Ration's be charged, at a certain fixed price, upon presumption of the Account being paid in hard Cash, and that the charge of Candles, Soap, and Wood, be made in a separate Acco[un]t so as to preclude any future demand's for that period. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Your Excellency's most Obedient most Obliged and very Humble Servant

Jona: Clarke
A: COMMISS'Y GENERAL.

HEATH TO BURGOYNE [8]

HEAD QUARTERS, Boston, Jany. 14th, 1778.

SIR, — The Probability that Transports will soon arrive to receive the Troops of the Convention [9] — The apparent Propriety of the Measure, The similar Conduct of the British Commanders towards such of our Troops as have fallen into their Hands before they are permitted on Parole to return Home [of which we have recent instances in some who were Taken by your army after the evacuation of Tyconderoga, and sent to Canada and lately returned,] [10] and my Expectation that the Hon. Congress will again direct it, induces me to repeat my Call for the Names, former places of abode and Occupation size age and Description of every Non-Commissioned Officer and Private Soldier and all other Persons Comprehended in the Convention of Saratoga. As Major Massareau [11] is now here and will take Down the names the Objection you before made to Major Browne is obviated.[12] I am Sir your Obt. Servt.

CLARKE TO BURGOYNE.

CAMBRIDGE, Jany. 17th, 1778.

SIR, — I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that I have received from Mr. Charles Miller an acco[un]t of provisions furnished the Troops of the Convention (including the charges refer'd to in the last acco[un]t amount[in]g in the whole to £37,494 Lawf: Money of the State of the Massachusetts.

I beg leave to observe upon the acco[un]t —

[8] From a draft in Heath's writing.

[9] The transports arrived at Cape Cod March 8.

[10] The words in brackets were struck out.

[11] Joshua Mersereau?

[12] See Burgoyne to Heath, Nov. 23, 1777. 7 *Collections*, IV. 186; and the undated letter of Henry Laurens in 7 *Collections*, IV. 210. The resolution was passed in Congress, Jan. 8, 1778.

That, the proposal I had the honor to submit to you and Major Gen'l Heath of estimating the Ration at a certain fixed price, is rejected.

That, Altho' it is acknowledged this whole acco[un]t has been paid for in the Currency of the Country, and your Excellency has been assured that it was intended that the State should gain no advantage by the supplys to your Army; yet, any abatement upon presumption of the acco[un]t being paid in solid Coin is also refused.

That, according to the price at which the Provisions are charged, if paid for in solid Coin will amount to one shilling and nine pence half penny sterl[in]g per Ration.

This price is so exceeding great that I submit to your Excellency whether it will not be best to return the same quantity of Provisions to the United States which I understand Major Gen'l Heath is ready to accept of. I have the honor etc.

The subsequent proceedings are told in 7 *Collections,* IV. 204, 206, 225.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1928.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 12, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair. The record of the March meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Laura E. Richards, the original petition [1] of Thomas Sims, of Georgia, a fugitive slave, arrested in Boston on April 7, 1851, for a writ of Habeas Corpus presented to Judge Levi Woodbury of the Supreme Court of the United States, April 10, 1851; also two letters, of Elihu Burritt, Feb. 10, 1854, and of Wendell Phillips, all found among some papers of her father, the late Samuel Gridley Howe.

From the estate of Miss Elizabeth Welles Perkins, three copybooks in Geography, written by her grandmother Mehitable Stoddard Sumner, the elder daughter of Gov. Increase Sumner, at Mrs. Butler's Academy, Blossom Hill, giving the date in Volume 2 as May 11, 1797; also several manuscripts, and a copy of " The New Ladies Memorandum Book " for 1793.

From Harvard College Library, a copy of an agreement about erecting the outwharves, Boston, Sept. 10, 1673.

From George N. Black, by deposit, the papers of General David Cobb.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Miss Susan Minns, a wall-table associated with Marie Antoinette, which once belonged to Col. James Swan, of Dorchester, given to Miss Minns' grandparents, Nathaniel and Fanny (Hancock) Parker about 1810; also a small box made from wood of the Frigate *Constitution,* given to her mother, Mrs. Constant Freeman Minns, who received it from her uncle, Capt. John Percival, in 1840.

From the estate of Miss Elizabeth Welles Perkins, paintings made in England in 1675 of Mrs. Baker, mother of Mrs. Samuel Shrimpton, and of Katherine Roberts, sister of Mrs. Shrimpton; also an engraving of Mehitable Sumner, and a small Sheraton

[1] *Proceedings,* LV. 341.

table and a writing desk, which belonged to Miss Perkins' great-grandmother.

From the estate of Miss Elise B. Richards, an embroidered pocketbook made and used by Mrs. Lynde Oliver, the first wife of Justice Joseph Story.

From John Still, of Fleet, England, an engraving of Dr. John Still (d. 1607) by H. Meyer. His association with Sir John Horner in lead mines, Mr. Still states, led to his writing "Little Jack Horner," the familiar rhyme, in which the "plum" means *plumbum*.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, a heliotype portrait of his father, Supply Clap Thwing.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the bronze medal to commemorate the flight of Colonel Lindbergh in his airplane to Europe.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Arthur Stanwood Pier accepting resident membership, and from Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, of Princeton, New Jersey, accepting corresponding membership in the Society.

Professor Edward Kennard Rand, of Cambridge, was elected a resident member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Cunningham read the Annual Report of the Council, which had been prepared by Prof. Fred N. Robinson.

Report of the Council

The Council, in its report for the year 1927–28, has no new developments of importance to record. The Society has continued its regular activities and has enjoyed the usual measure of good fortune in the support of members and friends. There are only two changes in organization or procedure of which mention should be made, and both of these were contemplated by earlier votes of the Society or the Council. But it was not possible to put them in effect until the year just passed. Both of them, it is expected, will prove advantageous in the conduct of the business of the Society.

The first change is in the Treasurer's method of accounting. In the report for 1926–27 attention was called to the desira-

bility of placing the finances of the Society on a budget basis. The preparation for this entailed a careful study of funds and accounts, which has been made by Mr. George Gregerson Wolkins, with the advice of the Treasurer and the Finance Committee. The investigation has just been completed and it will be possible to install the new system at the beginning of the coming fiscal year.

The second change is in the rules governing the management of publications. In December, 1926, it will be remembered, the Society amended its by-laws so as to provide for the appointment of a single committee to supervise all publications and to recommend to the Council what volumes, other than the *Proceedings,* shall at any time be undertaken. It was further provided that no publication shall be proceeded with until the Council has authorized it and appropriated the necessary money to meet the costs. The first committee under the new by-law was appointed in May, 1927, and has been in service for nearly a year. The Council believes that it is an advantage to have the responsibility for the publications thus concentrated in a single committee; and the second provision of the by-law, that no volume shall be actually undertaken until the Council has approved it and appropriated the necessary funds, is in keeping with the Society's policy of adhering to a budget.

For a considerable part of the year the Society has been deprived of the services of the Editor. Mr. Ford was given leave of absence for nine months from July 1, in order that he might devote his whole time to the important task of preparing for the press the *Life of Lincoln* by our late associate, Senator Beveridge. He has nearly finished that work, and has returned to his editorial duties.

Before his period of absence Mr. Ford prepared for publication Volume 60 of the *Proceedings,* which was printed and distributed during the year. There have also been published Volume 77 of the *Collections, Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution,* compiled and edited by Dr. Gardner Weld Allen; Volume IX of the *House Journals,* also edited by Dr. Allen; and the *War Letters (1862–1865) of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes,* printed for the Society at the Riverside Press. The Society is grateful to Dr. Allen for

undertaking and completing the volume on *Privateers*, a valuable contribution to Massachusetts history.

The photostat of the Society has been in full operation during the year. It made 31,856 exposures, and the subjects ranged from the continuation of the files of the "Boston News-Letter" and "Virginia Gazette" to the making of items of early Americana and such commissions as were received from private individuals. The early Americana were drawn from many sources — British Museum, Public Record Office, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Colombina in Seville, and the Royal Library in Augsburg. Among the domestic libraries which have generously contributed may be named the Henry E. Huntington Library, the New York Public Library, the New York Historical Society, the Newberry Library, John Carter Brown Library, and the Rhode Island Historical Society.

In addition to the manufacture of photostat issues, the Society has obtained more than five hundred photostats of pieces from foreign collections, many of which were hitherto unknown or unidentified and all relating to American colonial history.

It has also obtained through the courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society a complete reproduction of the correspondence carried on between Hugh Grigsby and Robert C. Winthrop, the elder, from 1857 to 1881. This collection was given to the Virginia Historical Society by the younger Winthrop on the suggestion of Mr. J. L. M. Curry, a member of the Virginia Society and later United States Minister to Spain. It makes a notable addition to the Winthrop material in the Society.

Of the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly (Petrus de Aliaco), with annotations ascribed to Columbus, twenty-two copies were made for subscribing libraries, and the close study of this unique volume has thus been made possible for scholars in various localities where it has been heretofore inaccessible.

Numerous gifts of interest have been received during the year and are described in the monthly reports of the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper. There has also been added to the permanent funds of the Society the sum of $1000 bequeathed by our honored late associate Dr. John Collins Warren. And

Mr. William Bradford Homer Dowse has completed his generous gift of $25,000 to provide for the publication of the *House Journals*. The ninth volume, recently printed, brings the *Journals* down to 1731, and Mr. Dowse's fund will make it possible to continue the series, issuing a volume each year, till completed.

The building fund is steadily, though slowly, accumulating, and has now reached a total of $40,441.01, but no substantial additions have been made by gift during the year. Members are reminded that the need of an adequate building becomes every year more urgent. The collections of books, manuscripts, and other treasures are constantly growing, and it will soon be difficult, in the space now available, to classify them properly or keep them easily accessible. Although the present house was built as a fire-proof structure and is reasonably safe, the science of construction has made great advances in the past thirty years, and the library ought to be kept in a bookstack as completely protected as the engineering skill of the present time can devise.

The Council cannot terminate its report for the year without expressing its regret that Mr. Allan Forbes finds it necessary to retire from the office of Treasurer. His services have been of very great value to the Society. In spite of his many responsibilities he has given generously of his time and thought to its affairs. If his other duties now claim him, his successors in the administration of the Society's finances will still count on having from time to time the advantage of his wise counsel.

Mr. WOLKINS read the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up by the Auditor to April 1st, 1928.

In addition to the Building Fund, the Special funds now held by the Treasurer are forty in number having been increased by the John Collins Warren bequest of $1000. The William B. H. Dowse fund was increased by $5000 par value

New York, New Haven and Hartford six per cent bonds, making a total of $25,000 in this fund. Gifts were received as follows: Mrs. T. J. Coolidge, $25, George G. Wolkins, $25, and Francis R. Hart, $100.

There was added to the principal of the Adams Fund $707.99 from the sale of publications.

The Building Fund was increased by a gift of $5000 from Mrs. Harriet J. Bradbury, in memory of her brother, George R. White.

Several bonds and stocks were called for payment during the year and our books show a gain on such securities of $5,102.75.

During the year the difficulty of making arrangements with members of the Finance Committee to go to the safe deposit box at regular intervals to cut coupons, and at other times to get out called securities, etc., induced Mr. Hart to suggest that the securities be turned over to the State Street Trust Company for safe keeping and collection of income, which was done. This relieves the members of the Finance Committee from annoying details and seems to be a very satisfactory arrangement.

I again wish to express my appreciation of the co-operation shown by members of the Finance Committee in regard to all matters of investment.

ALLAN FORBES,
Treasurer.

INVESTMENTS

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

			Par
American Sugar Refining Co.	6%	1937	$15,000
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1960	10,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Adj.	4	1995	9,000
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4	1959	3,000
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4	1951	10,000
Belgium, Kingdom of	7½	1945	7,000
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5	1939	10,000
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1943	8,000
Boston & Albany R. R.	5	1938	10,000
Boston & Maine (new)	4½–5	1944	6,000
Carry forward			$88,000

Brought forward			$88,000
Boston & Maine	4–5	1942	9,000
Central Georgia Power Co. 1st Mtge.	5	1938	10,000
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards	6	1940	10,000
Cleveland Short Line	4½	1961	10,000
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	10,000
Consolidated Gas, El. Lt. & Pr. Co. of Baltimore	6	1949	10,000
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,000
Denmark, Kingdom of	6	1942	10,000
Detroit Edison Co.	5	1933	10,000
Edison Elec. Illum. Co. of Boston	4½	1930	8,000
Florida Power & Light Co., 1st Mtge.	5	1954	10,000
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	20,000
International Paper Co. 1st Ref. Conv. "A"	5	1947	10,000
Long Island R. R.	4	1949	6,000
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000
New York Central & H. R. R. R.	4	1934	15,000
New York Central Lines, Equipment Trust	5	1935	5,000
New York Central Lines, Equipment Trust	5	1936	5,000
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co.	6	1948	25,000
Oklahoma Gas & Elec. Co. 1st Mtge.	5	1950	5,000
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	5,000
Oregon Short Line R. R.	5	1946	10,000
Pacific Gas & Elec. 1st & Ref.	5½	1952	10,000
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1937	10,000
Pere Marquette R. R.	5	1956	15,000
Quincy Market C. S. & W. Co. 1st Mtge.	5½	1946	10,000
Railway and Light Sec. Co.	5	1946	5,000
Rio Grande Western R. R.	4	1939	5,000
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	5,000
Swift & Co.	5	1932	12,000
United Elec. Securities Co.	5	1936–42	11,000
United States Steel Corp.	5	1963	9,000
Warren Bros. Co., Sinking Fund	5½	1937	10,000
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000
Western Union Tel. Co.	5	1938	10,000
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5	1951	5,000
Winnipeg, City of	6	1946	15,000
			$448,000

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

	Shares	*Par*
American Glue Co., com.	25	$2,500
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	7,500
Carry forward		$10,000

Brought forward		$10,000
American Sugar Refining Co. pfd.	50	5,000
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	60	6,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R., pfd.	158	15,800
Boston & Albany R. R.	35	3,500
Boston & Maine R. R., Class A	25	2,500
Boston Real Estate Trust	6	6,000
Boston Wharf Co.	125	12,500
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	15,000
Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co.	10	1,000
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	200	20,000
General Electric Co., com., no par	100	
General Electric Co., special stock	10	100
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302	30,200
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	8,500
Old Colony R. R. Co.	25	2,500
Pacific Mills	400	40,000
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd.	52	5,200
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., com.	5	500
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., prior preference	10	1,000
Second National Bank of Boston	50	5,000
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	17,500
Southern Pacific Co.	45	4,500
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	500
United Fruit Co., no par	250	
Western Massachusetts Companies, no par	197	
Western Union Tel. Co.	40	4,000
Total Stocks, March 31, 1928		$216,800
Total Bonds, March 31, 1928		448,000
		$664,800

Schedule of Savings Banks Accounts

M. A. Parker Fund (Provident Inst. for Savings)	$1,279.34
Brattle Street Church Model Fund (Boston Five Cents Savings)	168.10
	$1,447.44

Recapitulation

Bonds, par value	$448,000.00
Stocks, par value	216,800.00
Savings bank accounts	1,447.44
	$666,247.44

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1928

Assets:		
Cash		$9,752.86
Investments:		
Bonds	$442,775.41	
Stocks	256,863.51	
Savings bank accounts	1,447.44	701,086.36
Building Fund:		
Cash	899.97	
Bonds	38,153.54	
Stocks	1,387.50	40,441.01
		$751,280.23
Liabilities:		
Funds, principal	637,532.85	
Funds, accumulated income	68,203.62	705,736.47
Building Fund		40,441.01
Gain on sale of securities		5,102.75
		$751,280.23

BUILDING FUND

Cash on hand March 31st, 1927		$826.26
Gift:		
Mrs. F. T. Bradbury, in memory of her brother, George Robert White		5,000.00
Income:		
Coupons	1,535.00	
Dividends	90.00	
Interest on deposit	28.05	1,653.05
Securities matured:		
$3,000. Columbus Elec. & Power Co. 5s, 1927	3,000.00	
10,000. Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1928	10,000.00	13,000.00
		$20,479.31
Securities bought:		
$5,000. Ill. P. & Lt. Co. 1st Rfg. 6s, 1953	5,225.00	
11,000. Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1930	11,062.50	
3,000. Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	3,015.00	$19,302.50

Accrued interest:		
Illinois P. & Lt. Co. 1st Rfg. 6s, 1953	149.17	
Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1930	95.13	
Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	22.36	266.66
Brokerage:		
Swift & Co. 5s, 1932		3.75
State Street Trust Co., agency		6.43
		19,579.34
Cash on hand, Old Colony Trust Co., March 31, 1928		899.97
		$20,479.31

Building Fund, Income Account

Income:			
Interest		$1,653.05	
Less accrued interest on purchases		266.66	
		1,386.39	
Less: brokerage on purchases	$3.75		
State Street Trust Co., agency	6.43	10.18	$1,376.21
Gift:			
Mrs. F. T. Bradbury in memory of her brother, George Robert White			5,000.00
Gains on securities matured:			
$3,000. Columbus El. & Power Co. 5s, 1927		7.50	
10,000. Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1928		49.20	56.70
Net Addition to Building Fund			$6,432.91

EXHIBIT I.

Investment Account

Balance, March 31, 1927		$671,362.17
Acquired by purchase or by gift:		
$10,000. Warren Bros. Co. 5½s Skg. Fund, 1937	9,975.00	
$12,000. Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	12,013.75	
$5,000. Okla. Gas & El. Co. 1st mtg. 5s, 1950	4,987.50	
150 sh. Elec. Bond & Share Co. pfd. 6%	16,350.00	
700 sh. Southern Calif. Edison Co. 5½% pfd.	16,925.00	
197 sh. Western Mass. Co.'s no par com.	12,483.75	
$8,000. Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1930	8,071.00	
$5,000. N Y N H & H R R Co. 6s, 1948, W. B. H. Dowse gift, additional	5,000.00	
Book value of securities acquired 1927–8	$85,806.00	

Sold, called, or matured:

$ 2,000.	Kingdom of Belgium, 7½s, 1945 . .	2,083.00
$10,000.	Duquesne Light Co. 6s, 1949	8,927.50
$ 2,000.	Un. Elec. Securities, 42 ser. 5s, 1956 . .	2,000.00
$10,000.	Mass. Lighting Co.'s 7s, 1930	10,000.00
$ 5,000.	Columbus Elec. & Power Co. 5s, 1927. .	4,962.50
$12,000.	Shawinigan 6s, 1950	10,835.00
$ 5,000.	Edison El. Illum. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1928	5,000,00
$ 5,000.	Un. Elec. Securities, 36 ser. 5s, 1940 . .	5,000.00
50 sh.	Consol. Gas, El. Lt. & P. Co 6% pfd. .	5,500.00
30 sh.	Duquesne Lt. & Water Co. 7% 1st pfd.	3,221.25
	Book value of securities disposed of 1927–8 .	$57,529.25

Net increase in book value of securities	$28,276.75
Balance, March 31, 1928	$699,638.92

EXHIBIT II.

INDIVIDUAL FUNDS — PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS

Increases:		
Adams	$707.99	
W. B. H. Dowse Publication	5,000.00	
General	150.00	
Lodge	60.35	
J. L. Sibley Centenary	7,267.93	
J. Collins Warren	1,000.00	
Anonymous Centenary	628.82	$14,815.09
Decrease:		
Transfer from Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund Principal to Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund Income		31.50
Net Increase		$14,783.59

EXHIBIT III.

Balance accumulated income March 31, 1927 . .		$68,942.73
Income during the year		48,305.22
		$117,247.95
Added to cumulative Funds Principal	8,665.09	
Expenditures during the year	40,410.74	49,075.83
		$68,172.12
Add transfer charged to Funds Principal . . .		31.50
Balance accumulated income, March 31, 1928 .		$68,203.62

EXHIBIT IV.

Income Account

Credited to General Fund income:		
Sale of publications	$1,230.68	
Sale of photostats	7,728.20	
Sale of House Journals	1,597.10	
Rebate	.60	
Preparing volume of manuscripts	15.00	
Mounting manuscripts	1.00	$10,572.58
Credited to other Funds income:		
Income from securities	37,047.37	
Less accrued interest on securities bought	399.98	
	36,647.39	
Interest on bank balances	306.15	
Interest credited by Savings Banks	59.95	
Royalties credited to Adams Fund	707.99	
Draft returned	.41	
Refund on safe deposit box	9.00	
Returned by State Street Trust Co., commission	1.75	37,732.64
Total income		$48,305.22
Deduct income added to cumulative funds:		
Sibley Centenary	7,267.93	
Anonymous Centenary	628.82	
Adams	707.99	
Lodge	60.35	8,665.09
Income available for operating expenses		$39,640.13
Transfer credited to funds income		31.50
		$39,671.63
Operating expenses charged against income		40,410.74
Decrease in accumulated income		$739.11

Expense Account

Bindery:		
Salary	$1,450.00	
Supplies	209.47	$1,659.47
Binding:		
of books and newspapers	148.05	
of manuscripts	83.00	231.05
Carry forward		$1,890.52

Brought forward			$1,890.52
Building:			
Cleaning, including windows and sidewalk		526.95	
Elevator, Otis service, repairs		86.60	
Engineer		1,537.00	
Supplies		56.68	
Fuel		985.50	
Ash cans, removal, etc.		48.00	
Furnishings, care, replacement		173.60	
Metal Case		406.00	
Re-upholstering, etc.		270.00	
Grounds, care, etc.		38.80	
Granolithic walk		25.00	
Hardware, installing, etc.		398.05	
Insurance, liability, compensation, boiler		60.91	
Light, power, water-heating:			
Electricity		395.80	
Gas		101.56	
Repairs:			
Awnings	55.90		
Boiler	83.81		
Extinguishers	8.35		
Lights	3.00		
Painting basement floor	10.00		
Photostat camera	35.00		
Photostat platform	17.94		
Roof	383.23		
Supplies	42.01	639.24	
Telephone		178.78	
Towel Supply, etc.		136.50	
Water		83.16	6,148.13
Cabinet purchases:			
Coins and medals		12.25	
Photographs, slides, equipment		63.40	
Reflectors, lamps, etc		41.98	117.63
Engrossing:			
Letter to American Philosophical Society		25.00	
Diplomas		9.10	34.10
Expressage			238.03
Fares			22.15
Library Purchases:			
Books		1,579.41	
Newspapers		110.00	
Photostat negatives		83.25	1,772.66
Forward			$10,223.22

Photostat:		
Binding	278.61	
Chemicals	386.09	
Paper	3,094.90	
Salary	2,400.00	
Supplies, repairs, etc.	81.95	6,924.52
Postage		151.66
Printing and publications:		
House Journals, vol. 9	1,939.33	
Illustrations	815.08	
Massachusetts Privateers	2,210.53	
Notices, ballots, etc.	70.00	
Proceedings, vol. 60	2,109.69	
Ropes-Gray Letters	1,256.00	
Separates	20.00	
Winthrop Papers, work on vol. 1.	70.13	8,490.76
Publications purchased, T. J. Coolidge Autobiography		70.50
Salaries:		
Editor and assistants*	2,295.00	
Editing during Mr. Ford's leave of absence	1,200.00	
Librarian and assistants	9,522.02	13,017.02
Stationery		174.72
Subscriptions:		
"Writings on American History"	50.00	
Miscellaneous	3.00	53.00
Sundries, unclassified		169.60
Treasurer:		
Bookkeeper	1,000.00	
Commissions to State Street Trust Co.	100.74	
Safe deposit box	10.00	
Surety bond	25.00	1,135.74
Total Operating Expenses for the year		$40,410.74
Charged to Funds Income, Operating Expenses		$40,410.74

* For three months only, owing to Mr. Ford's leave of absence.

EXHIBIT V

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS

	Balances Mar. 31, '27	Income	Payments from Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, '28	Principal of Funds
Adams	$2,039.46	$2,213.74	$1,500.00	$2,753.20	$38,214.62
Amory	745.23	186.04	35.00	896.27	3,000.00
Appleton	909.62	720.18	560.00	1,069.80	12,203.00
Bigelow	148.45	118.03	110.15	156.33	2,000.00
Billings	3,385.35	590.14	662.69	3,312.80	10,000.00
Boit	2,625.27	295.07		2,920.34	5,000.00
Brattle Street	60.81	7.29		68.10	100.00
Chamberlain	349.82	72.79	83.16	339.45	1,232.33
Dowse	1,025.52	590.14	600.00	1,015.66	10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse		3,097.10	1,939.33	* 733.91	25,850.00
Ellis	959.45	1,868.78	2,118.75	709.48	31,666.66
Frothingham	1,234.74	177.04		1,411.78	3,000.00
General	525.13	12,384.53	14,508.06	—1,598.40	57,888.66
Hunnewell	5,868.88	295.07		6,163.95	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,940.71	177.04	1,900.00	217.75	3,000.00
Lodge	447.42	241.41		688.83	5,173.70
Lowell	1,108.13	177.04	1,256.00	29.17	3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		118.03		118.03	2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	1,296.22	590.14	514.18	† 1,827.54	‡ 10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		590.14		590.14	10,000.00
Parker	179.21	52.66	30.28	201.59	1,000.00
Peabody	5,365.25	1,305.60	2,278.74	4,392.11	22,123.00
Salisbury	31.22	295.07	343.18	—16.89	5,000.00
Savage	1,811.82	354.08	431.87	1,734.03	6,000.00
Schouler	1,175.88	168.18		1,344.06	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	644.49	1,327.90	1,514.41	457.98	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	14,173.74	7,145.08	8,196.01	13,122.81	121,077.00
Slafter	388.19	59.42	47.69	399.92	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith	989.93	885.21		1,875.14	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	3,017.95	295.07		3,313.02	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	5,584.65	590.14		6,174.79	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	5,474.68	590.14		6,064.82	10,000.00
Waterston Library	1.63	33.94	132.69	—97.12	578.81
J. C. Warren					1,000.00
Robert Winthrop	1,782.27	885.21	70.13	2,597.35	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop	984.55	708.16	766.07	926.64	12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	1,293.89	139.46	500.00	933.35	2,364.66
William Winthrop	1,373.17	295.07	312.35	1,355.89	5,000.00
Totals	$68,942.73	$39,640.13	$40,410.74	$68,203.62	$495,831.92
Sibley Cent'y		7,267.93			130,416.60
Anonymous Cent'y		628.82			11,284.33
Adams		707.99			
Lodge		60.35			
Total Income		$48,305.22			
Total Funds					$637,532.85

* After transfer to M. H. Trust Fund Income to correct 1926–27 entries.

† Includes transfers from W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income and from M. H. Trust Fund Principal to correct entries previous to this year.

‡ After transfer to M. H. Trust Fund Income to correct 1925 entry.

Report of the Auditing Committee

The accounts of the Treasurer have been examined, and through the several records and books of account all the transactions of the Society have been traced for the fiscal year, April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928, inclusive.

The accompanying schedules and balance sheets show the state of the finances as of the day last mentioned; vouchers were produced for each item of money disbursed; capital receipts, sales of publications and photostats, together with income from the several investments have been checked; and possession of bonds, share certificates and savings bank books now in the safe-keeping custody of the State Street Trust Company pursuant to a vote of the Council, November 11, 1927, has been certified by the Trust Department of that institution.

Balances representing cash standing to the Society's credit in the State Street Trust Company, in the Old Colony Trust Company, as well as cash on hand in the Society's building, have been verified and the trial balance shows these and other entries have been correctly posted to proper accounts in the ledger. The consolidated statement summarizes the book value of the Society's property other than the real estate at 1154 Boylston Street and the contents of the Society's library and cabinet.

Francis R. Hart,
George G. Wolkins,
Committee.

April 12, 1928.

Mr. Tuttle read the

Report of the Librarian

The Library has had a good year of growth and of helpful service. The accessions are nearly two thousand in number. Of these, nearly thirteen hundred are gifts and about six hundred purchases. These include about fifty volumes of bound manuscripts and a large number of single pieces. Several members have generously continued their interest by numerous gifts; and the Society would gratefully appreciate similar remembrances from a larger number of our associates. Purchases have been made from the income of the special book funds and of a limited amount from that of the General Fund.

An important gift is the collection of Gen. Artemas Ward's papers, in four extra large volumes bound in full morocco, with the fifth and sixth volumes in sheets soon to be bound in similar style. These valuable manuscripts were given by the estate of Artemas Ward, of New York, who did so much to preserve the home of General Ward in Shrewsbury in ancestral memory.

The Society takes a just pride in its rich collections, the slow accumulation of long years in its history since the first gift of two pine-tree coins of 1652, at its second meeting on April 9, 1791, by James Sullivan, its first President. Probably at no time in the process of gathering these possessions was the Society ever free from the danger of overcrowding, or perhaps never was there the ample shelf room in anticipation at any time of the future growth of the Library. Now the problem is still serious as to the proper arrangement and care of its many treasures which often find their way into cramped and ill-suited places, where there are likely to be rapid accumulations as the days pass by. But there are still ways of finding room for accessions, both small and large, in temporary resting places. In our case, however, the sky is not the limit, but rather human ingenuity has to meet its test in the use of such places as to make the material accessible. Members can do a splendid service by using their good offices in bringing about the gift or deposit here of family papers, books and other historic pieces, where they will be safely kept, and carefully treasured, and thus be a means of enriching the Society's resources.

Perhaps there is no department of the Library service more important than that which cares for the Society's manuscript collection, the treatment of its thousands of choice pieces, their arrangement, binding, and best of all their complete cataloguing. The bindery has already produced good results. It has just completed the binding of thirty-six volumes of the Shattuck family papers, and forty volumes of the papers of Caleb Davis, which are now in the process of being catalogued. The Shattuck Papers have already been done, and sixteen volumes out of the forty of the Davis Papers have card entries, and the cards for the remainder are being made as rapidly as possible. A good part of this result is due to the generosity

of Dr. Shattuck, in supplying an assistant for the past five months to push the work along. The grateful thanks of the Society are given to our associate for this timely help. The urgent need and importance of making such an assistant permanent thus becomes apparent. The bindery and the cataloguing can work together, and produce good results.

The Society can in this new adventure render the highest service to the cause of historical research, which will be appreciated more and more by the eager investigators who come to its rooms, not only from places nearby but from all parts of the country. Largely by dint of the knowledge of the Society's staff, these visitors find answers to their questions and what seem to be needed suggestions along the line of their various subjects. This prompt and thorough interest, on the part of the Society, always finds a warm response from the grateful recipients of the timely aid given. The slowly increasing demands upon our rich resources seem to require action by the Society, to thus fulfil its reasonable obligations.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions to the number of 144, including eleven medals of Massachusetts and ten bills.

Grenville H. Norcross,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Mr. Mayo read the

Report of the Committee on Library and Cabinet

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and the Cabinet met on April 3, and being satisfied as to the safe preservation of the Society's collection of books, manuscripts, coins, and memorabilia, centered its attention upon possible means of making these possessions more accessible and more useful to the members and to other historical investigators.

If the Library is to fulfil its purpose, it must not only be a growing repository for valuable material of this kind; it

must also, to the limit of the Society's ability, shelve, arrange and catalogue it so that searchers for historical truth may carry on their work with a minimum expenditure of time and of energy. The promotion of this policy calls loudly for three things: the first is the construction of a new stack-room in which the increasing volume of our books and manuscripts may be properly housed; the second is improved lighting in the existing stacks; and the third is an additional member of the library staff to arrange and catalogue the collections of manuscripts which the Society has been so fortunate as to acquire from various sources.

The cry for a new stack-room has become perennial and perhaps tiresome, but the need increases with every succeeding year. With wistful eyes the Committee has gazed upon the space above the present stacks on the third floor. That space is real, but for the purpose of expanding the stacks it is an illusion. The original construction of the building makes it impossible to add with safety any appreciable load in that quarter. As far as more stack room is concerned, that space must ever remain waste space. The obvious place for the new stacks is the area, as yet unbuilt upon, that forms the southeast corner of the Society's land. The building of this addition at the present time may not be imperative, but the Committee is convinced that it is urgent.

The present system of lighting the existing stacks is primitive. To find a book in a dark alcove one has to carry with him an electric lamp on a twenty-foot cord. This is awkward and annoying. What is needed is a system of overhead lights, with switches at the end of each stack. This change would not be very expensive, and it would save the time and temper of every person who uses the book stacks.

The Shattuck Papers, arranged, mounted, bound and indexed, are an admirable example of the kind of work the Committee would like to see done with other collections of manuscripts in the possession of the Society. The Caleb Davis Papers are now going through the process which will make them much more serviceable to students of history. But there are Andrew Papers, Atkinson Papers, Lawrence Papers, Shaw Papers, and perhaps other valuable collections, that are virtually in dead storage; and there is no immediate

prospect of their condition being anything else. To the Committee this apparent neglect appears doubly lamentable: in the first place, there is the very evident loss to historical workers; and in the second place, there is the lack of inducement to owners of similar collections to give their family papers to this Society. To potential donors a number of exhibits like the Shattuck Papers would probably be highly persuasive; but unless an appropriation for work of this kind is made, little progress can be expected. Even the work on the Shattuck Papers would still be unfinished if a generous member had not come forward and from his own resources paid for its completion.

The Committee estimates that $1500 would pay for the services of an additional assistant for one year, and it does not hesitate to recommend that provision for such an appropriation be made in the next budget.

These three recommendations are all that the Committee feels called upon to make at the present time. But in closing this report it wishes to place on record its opinion that the continuation of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* would be a very desirable work for the Society to undertake in the near future. The existence — and the excellence — of Dexter's *Graduates of Yale* constantly remind one of the need of a corresponding authority upon Harvard graduates of the eighteenth century.

Lawrence S. Mayo,
Albert Matthews,
Clarence S. Brigham.

April 9, 1928.

Mr. Morse presented the report of the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year and a ballot being taken the following were elected:

President.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.

Vice-Presidents.

HENRY LEFAVOUR.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Treasurer.
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS.

Librarian.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Members-at-Large of the Council.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN.
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.
ALLEN FRENCH.

Mr. STIMSON read a paper on "The Burked Treaty."

Dr. SHATTUCK read notes on Samuel Bacon of the Harvard Class of 1808.

WRECK OF THE LITTLE JAMES

Colonel BANKS communicated a copy of the testimony taken in the High Court of Admiralty, 1624,[1] on the wreck of the ship *Little James*.

Xvij November 1624

Edwardus Winslowe de Plymouth in Nova Anglia yoeman annos agens 30 ta aut eo circiter dicit quod Willimum

[1] High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Vol. 44 (1624). See also Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, I, and *Proceedings*, XLIV. 178–82.

Stevens et Thomam Fell partes contra quas producitur a mense Augusti ad omnia ult elapsus bene novit

2 & 3 That when the arlate [2] shipp the Little James arrived in New England the arlate Emanuel Altham was Captaine and John Bridges Master of her.

4 That after the arrivall of the arlate shipp the Little James at New England the foresaid Captaine and Mr of her in this exam'ts heareing Complained to the Governor of Plymouth there that the arlate William Stevens and Thomas Fell had soe carried themselves at sea that they durste not goe to sea with them againe excepte the said Governour woulde make a new Composicon with them the said Stevens and Fell either to give them wages or lett them goe to sea for a taker; and upon this complainte the said Governor calling before him the said Stevens and Fell they the said Stevens and Fell also stood upon it before him that they would not goe to sea as Adventurers or Planters but for wages or ells with Liberty to take all foreign nations that thay should meate uppon the queaste and thereuppon the Governour (not having other men there to supply their roomes) was inforced to promise them moneths wages untill they should arrive uppon the coaste of England; and this he saieth he Knoweth to bee true wch beeinge this an Inhabitante in Plymouth in New England aforesad was presente before the Governour there with the said Stevens and Fell and heard the premisses.

5 The Little James was bulged and sancke at Permmaquid in New England and as this exam'te there heard by the Companie of the other shipps there then shee the said shipp came to bee soe bilged and sancke for wante of good and sufficient mooring and as this exam'te alsoe there heard by said Stevens and Fell forsooke the said shippe beeing so bulged and suncke and would not give their assistance to the recovery of her but absented themselves from her untill shee was weighed by others of her Companie and others that helped to recover her.

6 That true yt is that by reason of the Casting away of the said shippe aforesaid of her salte powder victualls and some other her provisions were Loste and spoiled and the voyage was overthrowne and the Captaine Merchants planters Adventurers and Companie of Plymouth were constrained to new victuall and furnishe her to their damage at Leaste, (as this exam'te beleeveth), to the summe of fower or five hundred pounds Lawfull money of England. And this hee saieth hee knoweth to bee true.

[2] Contraction for "articulate."

7 Hee hath heard that there suncke and were loste fower shallops when the said shippe suncke as aforesaid and shee loste a boate at New England and another since by the negligence of the companie as this exam'te hath heard by the reports of divers.

8 That one of the Planters of Plymouth aforesaid did confesse in this exam'te heareing before the Governours there that hee had some powder from the arlate Steevens and that Steevens had throwne some breade in at his windowe but noe greate quantitye.

William Peirce de Ratcliffe in Com; Middx nauta annos agens 33 aut eo circiter

To the 1st 2d and 3d interrogatories

At the arrival of the arlate shippe the Little James at New England the arlate Emanuel Altham was Captain of her and John Bridges Mr. of her of this exam'ts knowledge who was there in a shippe called the Anne of London whereof hee was Mr.

To the 4th

That the Captaine and Mr. of the said shippe often in this exam'ts heareing say that the Companie had carried themselves so disorderly and mutinously at sea that they durste not goe to sea wth them againe without cominge to a newe agreement wth them for wages.

To the 5th

The Little James was bulged and suncke at New England and shee came to be soe bulged and sancke there, (as this ex'te hath heard by the relacon of divers masters and others that were there), by the negligence of the Companie in makeinge fast her Cable to a Loose Rocke and that Stevens and Fell did not assiste in the helpinge to waighe her but absented themselves from her till shee was weighed by others.

To the 6th

The salte powder victualls and some other provisions of the said shippe were spoiled and utterly loste and her voyage overthrowne by reason of her bulginge and sinckeinge as aforesaid and by that meanes the Companie of Plymouth aforesaid were inforced to new victuall and fitt her to their damage to the sum of 200 li at the leaste.

To the 7th

The Little James loste her Fishinge voyage and fower shallops and shippes boates and brought home little fishe which was all unmerchantable, and the arlate Stevens and Fell wth some of the reste of the companie of the said shippe after shee came home into the ryver of Thames lefte and forsooke her leaving her provisions lyinge in a disorderly manner and not as other shippes use to be lefte:

and this he knoweth to be true who tooke chardge of her after they had left her.

To the 8th

That Steevens was suspected at New England to convey powder and victualls out of the said shipps hold and one of the planters there being examined before the Governor confesses that hee had received some powder and bread from the said Steevens but what quantetye hee knoweth not.

Benedictus Morgan de Plymouth in Nova Anglia nauta annos agens 27 aut eo circiter

To the 1st 2d and 3rd

After the arrivall of the arlate shippe the Little James at New England her Companie would not goe a fishinge without they have wages or bee suffered to take and grew mutinous against the Captain and Mr of her soe that they were faine to bring her sailes a shoare for feare theire Companie should have run away with her and before they would yield to goe to sea againe the Governor was forced to promise them wages by the moneth untill they should arrive on the Coaste of England and this hee knoweth to be true who beeing an inhabitant there was before the Governor with the Companie of the said shippe and heard and knoweth the premisses to bee true.

To the 5th

(Testifies the like as to her bulging and sinking as the other witnesses which "he knoweth to bee true who was in her the said shippe when shee was soe bulged.")

On cross-examination Winslow stated that Stevens was gunner and Fell the carpenter on arrival in New England. He also testified that "William Bradford and Isacke Allerton were Governors of the plantacon." (Morgan testified to the same effect.)

LA FAYETTE TO HENRY DEARBORN.

La Grange, 8 p.m., 29th November 1804.

Dear Sir, — Your kind Communications of the 30th December Had but lately been Welcomed with my Respectful thanks, when I was Acquainted by Gnl. Armstrong's Arrival that Congress Have been pleased, by an Unanimous Vote, Most Munificently to Extend their Grant and to Authorise in Location to be Made on their Best Lands in Louisiana.

Promise me, Sir, to Anticipate the Official information, and

through Your Channel to offer the Expression of a Gratitude equal to the Honor I Receive and to the Exalted Sense I Have of favors Conferred by the Representatives of the United States.

I am proud to Acknowledge that in My present Circumstances and those of My family the Bounty of Congress has been particularly Seasonable, and what a fortune can Have so precious a Source as that which is Endeared and Ennobled by the Happy Remembrances and the Consoling Spectacle of American Liberty!

This immense Gift to one of your fellow Soldiers I less Consider as a Certificate of individual Merit than as a Retrospection to the Services of the Army in which I Had the Honor to Rank; it has been my Comfort, amidst Several Vicissitudes, to think that the disciple of Washington's Head Quarters Had never Ceased to be a faithful Servant to the Cause and will die an Unbiassed Veteran in the principles to which he owes his Adoption Among the Citizens of the American Republic.

May I, as a proprietor in the New Incorporated Country, so interesting to me on Every Account, Have my Share in promoting the peculiar Welfare of Louisiana, the General Good of the Union, and the Enlightened Views of its Government.

I Have the Honor to be with Great Regard Dear Sir, Your obedient hble Servant,

LAFAYETTE.[1]

[1] From the Bigelow Autographs in the Society.

MAY MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 10, 1928, at 3 P.M. In the absence of the President, the Hon. CHARLES G. WASHBURN was in the chair.

The record of the monthly meeting in April and of the annual meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Misses Cordner, a letter of Rev. Francis Parkman to Rev. John Cordner, dated at Boston, Jan. 6, 1849 [1850], Mr. Parkman's record book, Jan. 1, 1849, to Dec. 26, 1852; also the papers of their uncle, John Eliot Parkman, 1853–1871.

From John Woodbury, a Plan of the City of Washington, established as the seat of Government after 1800, engraved by Thackara and Vallance, Philadelphia, 1792. This is known as the Ellicott plan, and differs from the plan which has been in the Library for many years, engraved by J. Russell.

From the Iconographic Society, a copy of its publication, Third series, Number 1, giving a view of the third Harrison Gray Otis House, on Beacon Street, with a sketch of its architect, Charles Bulfinch, and an account of the house by Mr. Samuel E. Morison.

From the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, by deposit, its records and papers, 1786 to 1826.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Estate of Miss Elizabeth Welles Perkins, thirty etchings of old Boston buildings and streets, 1888–1894, by Henry R. Blaney, and other engravers.

From the Misses Cordner, a wooden fork made by John Eliot Parkman while a prisoner of war at Macon, Georgia, in 1864.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, a spear-shaped piece of iron used as money among the Senegalese tribes, also a number of coins of Africa, including one of the Mahdi.

From Mrs. William Thomas Lee, a Confederate States bill of $100, dated Jan. 5, 1863.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Edward Kennard Rand accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

It was voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The following committees were appointed by the President for the current year:

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, Chairman, FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Library: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, Chairman, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

House: FREDERIC WINTHROP, Chairman, JOHN WOODBURY, and ALLEN FRENCH.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, Chairman, CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

The chair announced the death in Boston on April 19th of William Bradford Homer Dowse, a Resident Member, and called upon Mr. FORD, who paid a tribute to his memory.

Professor THOMAS FREDERICK TOUT, of Manchester, England, a Corresponding Member, then addressed the Society upon "Some Historians I have Known," speaking of Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, Frederic William Maitland, John Richard Green, Edward Augustus Freeman, James Anthony Froude, George Grote, and Samuel Rawson Gardiner, all of whom were either Corresponding or Honorary Members of this Society.

Professor ARTHUR LYON CROSS presented a paper, which in his absence was read by Mr. WOLKINS, on

BENEFIT OF CLERGY IN THE AMERICAN CRIMINAL LAW

Some years ago the present writer published an article on "The English Criminal Law and Benefit of Clergy during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries."[1] Learning from a few stray indications that this queer privilege was, on occasion, successfully claimed in the American courts, it seemed worth while to investigate the extent to which it

[1] *American Historical Review*, April, 1917, XXII. 544–565.

actually prevailed. Apparently the only published study on the subject is a five-page paper entitled "Documents and Comments on Benefit of Clergy as applied to Slaves," by Professor William K. Boyd.[2]

The main outlines of the peculiar procedure, benefit of clergy, as it developed in England into a widely employed legal fiction, may be briefly recapitulated.[3] *Privilegium clericale* — originally the claim of the clergy in the graver crimes known as felonies to be exempt from the secular courts and subject only to the ecclesiastical tribunals — dates from very early times, but seems to have been first recognized in England in Stephen's Charter of 1136.

The question of the extent to which immunity of criminous clerks from the control of the king's courts might be enjoyed was the leading issue in the struggle between Henry II and Becket. In an arrangement made with the papal legate — twelve years after the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were formulated — the King finally agreed that "in criminal cases, for the future, no clerk should be brought in person before a secular judge except for some offense against the forest laws or in respect of some service due by reason of feudal tenure." The privilege was confirmed in the so-called *Articuli Cleri*,[4] which provides that "a clerk ought not to be judged before a Temporal Judge, nor anything may be done against him that concerneth life or member."

Originally confined to regularly ordained clerks and monks, the privilege, by an ordinance for the clergy, *pro clero*,[5] 1350, came to include within its scope "all manner of clerks, as well secular as religious." As a matter of practice, adopted both by the common law judges and the ecclesiastical ordinaries, this came to comprehend all who could read.[6] With the spread of education, abuses naturally arose; accordingly, in 1487, it was enacted that "Every person not being actually

[2] *Journal of Negro History*, October, 1923, VIII. 443–447.

[3] For a fuller sketch see *American Historical Review*, XXII. 551–565; bibliography, 551, n. 30.

[4] 9 Ed. II, st. 1, c. 15.

[5] 25 Ed. III, st. 6, C. 6. Confirmed by 4 H. IV, c. 2, in 1402.

[6] The opening of the 51st Psalm was usually selected, which came to be known as the "Neck verse." It was an indictable offense at common law to teach a felon to read.

within orders, who shall once be admitted to the benefit of clergy, be branded on the brawn of the left thumb" and not permitted to claim the privilege again, while those who were really of the clergy were not branded and entitled to their privilege as often as they were brought to trial.[7] In 1547 came the quaint provision that "any Peer or Lord of Parliament was, upon claim made, to be held as a clerk convict who might make purgation . . . though he cannot read, without any burning in the hand, loss of inheritance, or corruption of his blood."[8] Those who have *Henry Esmond* freshly in mind may recall that Lord Mohun claimed his clergy after killing Frank Castlewood in a duel, an incident that was probably suggested by the fact that Lords Mohun and Warwick claimed the privilege when they were tried before the House of Lords for the killing of Richard Coote in 1698.[9] Lord Byron — from whom his grandnephew, the poet, inherited the title — who slew Viscount Chaworth in a tavern brawl, and who was convicted by his peers in 1765 escaped death by virtue of his privilege.[10] The fact that benefit of clergy had been extended to women toward the end of the seventeenth century enabled the indecorous Duchess of Kingston, adjudged guilty of bigamy, to get off without burning or imprisonment.

Meantime, the "blasphemous farce," whereby a culprit convicted in a secular tribunal on evidence was not infrequently acquitted in an ecclesiastical court where the antiquated procedure of compurgation still prevailed, had been finally stopped by a Statute of Elizabeth [11] which enacted that any person admitted to benefit of clergy should no longer be delivered to the ordinary of the episcopal court but discharged by the justice, who might, nevertheless, imprison him for any period not exceeding one year. Branding, later as an alternative, continued in use until far into the eighteenth century. Doubtless the most celebrated commoner who ever profited by the privilege was "rare Ben Jonson" who, tried in the

[7] 4 Henry VII, c. 15.
[8] 1 Ed. VI, c. 12, § 10 ff.
[9] Howell, *State Trials*, XIII. 939–1060.
[10] 3 W. & M., c. 9. Cf. 21 Jas. I, c. 6.
[11] 18 Eliz., c. 7, § 2, 3.

Old Bailey, 1598, for slaying one Gabriel Spencer in a duel, pleaded guilty, claimed his clergy, read the neck verse and was branded.[12]

At length, in the reign of Anne, Parliament saw fit to put an end to the manifest injustice of discriminating between the lettered and unlettered by providing[13] that, henceforth, if any person convicted of a clergyable felony "shall pray to have the benefit of this act, he shall not be required to read, but, without any reading shall be allowed, taken and reported to be and punished as a clerk convict." Furthermore, the judges were authorized to impose another discretionary punishment — sentence to the house of correction from six months to two years. Transportation, introduced during the Restoration period, was not generally employed till 1718. From that date till the American Revolution it continued to be a frequent substitute for the death penalty, imprisonment being ordinarily reserved for those held for trial or for debt. After the American Colonies were closed to convicts, the jails proving inadequate, many were set to work on the navigation of the Thames, or confined in convict hulks. The same statute[14] which enumerates the alternatives provides, in lieu of transportation to America, "any parts beyond the seas." In 1787, as is well known, a penal colony was established at Botany Bay, and transportation to Australia continued until well into the nineteenth century. Whipping, another not infrequent substitute, was expressly authorized by the above Act which, for the first time, also imposed fines.

Thus, while after the abolition of the reading test, any first offender might, in the case of a clergyable felony, escape the death penalty, there was ample provision for his punishment by branding, whipping, confinement in the workhouse, employment in navigation, imprisonment, fine and forfeiture. As to the scope of the privilege, it was by common law confined to capital felonies,[15] thus excluding treason at one extreme, and, obviously, misdemeanors at the other. Petit

[12] *Middlesex County Records*, II. xxxviii–xlii.

[13] 6 Anne, c. 9, § 4.

[14] 19 Geo. III, c. 74.

[15] Though exceptions were made even there, in the case of certain grave crimes. Blackstone, IV. 373.

treason, once included, was ousted by statute. At the time Blackstone wrote such was the law and so it remained until benefit of clergy was finally abolished in 1827.[16]

In addition to the commoner serious crimes ousted by statute — such as murder, burning a dwelling house, highway robbery and burglary exceeding a specified amount — various curious exceptions, called forth by emergencies, might be noted. For example, William Lawrence was sentenced to death, in 1738, for enlisting John Davidson, alias David Birk, a six-foot man, for the service of the King of Prussia.[17] Drastic measures seemed necessary for guarding against the passion of Frederic William I for tall grenadiers! Rescuing or aiding in the escape of Napoleon was, shortly after the close of the great French war, made a felony without clergy.[18] Fortunately, in the interest of zeal for learning, John Heminghau, son of a Russian imperial chaplain, sent by his father to pursue his education in England, after conviction for stealing from a bookshop a "Collection of all the Statutes now in Use," value 4 shillings, claimed his clergy, and escaped with a private whipping.[19]

Up to the passage of the celebrated statute of 6 Anne there were apparently some twenty-five statutable felonies involving the death penalty, without benefit of clergy; by the beginning of the nineteenth century the number had increased to two hundred. However, by lenient interpretation, the first offender was usually brought within the scope of a clergyable crime. For example, although it was a felony, without benefit of clergy, to steal forty shillings from a dwelling house,[20] the jury, obviously instructed by the court, in the case of a culprit convicted for the first time, even if the amount taken had exceeded forty shillings, would bring in a verdict that he had stolen somewhat less, say thirty-eight shillings. In general, what had begun as a privilege peculiar to clergy actually in orders, had come, by a gradual and curious distortion of the law, to be a beneficent legal fiction, whereby a person who

[16] 3 and 4 Wm. IV.
[17] Old Bailey Sessions Papers, April, 1738.
[18] 56 Geo. III, c. 22.
[19] Old Bailey Sessions Papers, Jan., 1749, No. 148.
[20] 12 Anne, st. 1, c. 7.

was a first offender might, except for the gravest of crimes, escape the death penalty.

Before taking up the subject in the British Colonies on the main land of North America mention may be made of an early instance in the Summer Islands. In a letter of Lewes Hughes to the King's Privy Council, about 1625, he speaks of " One *Paul Deane,* being arraigned and condemned, for stealing a piece of cheese, pleaded the benefit of clergy (according to the lawes of *England*) was rigorously denied, and so hang'd." [21]

Passing now to the American Colonies and the United States it appears, so far as available legislation and reported cases show, that benefit of clergy was practically confined to the southern part of the country. While the privilege formed part of the law of Massachusetts till after the Revolution, only two cases — the one a notable one — appear to be recorded. If the claim was ever raised in other trials no evidence has been discovered by the present writer. The earlier case occurred in York County, and Col. Charles E. Banks has courteously called to my attention the incident as noted in the *Boston News-Letter,* July 1, 1736:

At His Majesty's Court of Assize and general Goal delivery held at *York,* in and for the County of *York,* on the 3d Wednesday of *June* current, *William Patten* of *Wells* in said County, *Joseph Bragdon* and *Jeddidiah Prebble* both of said *York,* and *William Mortimore* late of said *York,* were indicted by the Grand Jury for said County, for counseling, advising and assisting in forging and counterfeiting several false and counterfeit *Twenty-five Shilling* Bills of the Province of *New-Hampshire,* and several *Five Pound* and *Ten Shilling* Bills of the colony of *Connecticut;* and at the said Court *John Mackdonald,* of *Wells* aforesaid, was indicted for procuring to be forged and counterfeited several false and counterfeit *Twenty-five Shilling* Bills of *New-Hampshire* aforesaid, and several false and counterfeit *Five Pound* and *Ten Shilling* Bills of *Connecticut* aforesaid: The said *Patten* pleaded Not guilty, & the Jury declared him Not guilty, and he was acquitted, paying Costs: The said *Macdonald* also pleaded Not guilty, but the Jury found him guilty, and the Verdict being recorded, the Court ask'd the said *Macdonald,* What he had to say, why Sentence should not be given

[21] B. M. Add. Mss., 14496. The tract, believed to be unique, is without title or pagination.

against him according to the Law on which the Indictment was founded? who prayed the Benefit of the Clergy which was granted him; and Sentence was that he should be burnt in the Hand, suffer six Months Imprisonment and pay Costs. — *Bragdon* and *Prebble* were not tryed, Mr. Attorney General moving to the Court, he had not some Evidence, which he was in hopes of getting by next Term. *Mortimore* was not tryed, he having sometime since escaped out of *Boston* Goal; but it is to be hoped there will be an Opportunity for him to clear himself, or to suffer the Punishment he deserves.

The second case is that of two British soldiers involved in the "Boston Massacre." In the course of the trial of the British soldiers, of which a full report [22] is extant, Justice Trowbridge stated, *inter alia,* that "murder . . . was felony by common law and excluded clergy by 23 H. VIII, c. 1, and 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, so that the Province Act (Pro. Act 9, W. 3) created no *new* felony; it was in affirmation of the common law; if murder by that Act had been made a new felony a murderer would now be entitled to benefit of clergy by force of 1 15 Ed. III, c. 4, because it has not been taken away by that Province Act or any made since (2 Hawks, 33 § 24; 2 Hale, 330, 333, 335)." [23] As a matter of fact, of the eight soldiers charged with murder, six were found not guilty and discharged. The other two — Kilroy and Montgomery — were convicted of manslaughter, whereupon they "prayed the Benefit of Clergy, which was allowed them, and thereupon they were each of them burnt in the hand, in open court, and discharged." [24]

In his account of the case, A. C. Goodell takes occasion to state: "That the laws of the Province against burglary had recently been discovered to be defective, so that a culprit

[22] There is a copy in the William L. Clements Library entitled: *The Trial of the British Soldiers of the 29th Regiment of Foot for the Murder of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Patrick Carr, on Monday evening March 5, 1770, before Benjamin Lynde, John Cushing, Peter Oliver and Edmund Trowbridge, Esquires . . . held at Boston . . . November 27, 1770.* Boston, 1807. The two leading counsel for the prisoners were John Adams and Josiah Quincy.

[23] *Ib.,* 103.

[24] *Ib.,* 120. See also A. C. Goodell, Jr., *The Boston Massacre,* reprinted from the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* June 3, 1887.

convicted of that crime needed only to plead the 'benefit of clergy' in order to be discharged after being branded in the hand, not always with a very hot iron. This evil had so increased that about three weeks after the 'Massacre' the legislature deemed it necessary to pass a law making burglary a capital offense without benefit of clergy, for the especial protection of the citizens of Boston." [25] The steps leading to the passage of the measure are well brought out in Goodell's notes to the *Acts and Resolves*.[26] At a meeting of the Council on 17 February, 1768: "Whereas divers offenses are by the Laws of this Province made Capital, in which Laws the Benefit of Clergy (altho' not intended), as may reasonably be supposed, to be allow'd by the Legislature, is not by express words taken away; by reason whereof divers of such offenders have and may escape Justice, unless Provision by Law be made for preventing the same," it was ordered that two of their body, "with such as may be joyned by the Honble House be a committee to consider and Report what may be proper for this Court to do thereon." The House of Representatives concurred and added members of its own to the Committee.[27] About a month before the bill was passed His Honor Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, in a message to the Council and House of Representatives, 27 March, 1770, took occasion to say:

> Our Laws which respect Burglary are very incorrect and are so construed that they fail of the Effect which it is probable the Legislators intended they should have.
>
> The punishment of Larceny or Theft is inconsiderable and there is no room to doubt that bad people frequently come into this Province from other Governments, where the offense is punished with Death, meerly for the sake of committing it here, at the risque only of a small fine or light corporal punishment. I cannot therefore avoid recommending to you to take these Laws into your consideration and make such amendments or alterations as shall appear to you to be necessary.[28]

[25] *Boston Massacre*, 4. It was passed, 26 April, 1770. See *Acts and Resolves*, v. 43, 44, and the law of 1715 repealed, *ib.*, II. 5.

[26] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 64, 65.

[27] Citing Mass. Archives, XIV. 507.

[28] Citing Council Records, XXVIII. 101.

In a communication to the Lords of Trade, 24 May, 1770, some four weeks after the bill had passed the Council and the House of Representatives, he stated further:

Burglary by an Act of the Province 4 W. & M., for the first and second offense was considered a trespass only. By an Act of Geo. I. Burglary was made Capital but Clergy was not expressly taken away. The benefit of Clergy was never claimed until about 5 or 6 years ago. Since that in divers Instances the Court have allowed Clergy and no Offendor has suffered death Burglary by the first Statute being made a Trespass, the Court consider the second Statute as creating a new felony, in which case by the rule of Law, Clergy must be allowed unless expressly taken away. The general term or expression *with a felonious intent,* would not be sufficient because Larceny or Theft by the Province Law is only a trespass and the Offendor liable to a small fine only and a light Corporal punishment.[29]

The evacuation of Boston by the British army in March, 1776, presented the question of how to deal with the many loyalists who had resorted to Boston for protection and who did not accompany the withdrawing army either to Halifax or to England. The Legislature of Massachusetts, on March

[29] Citing Mass. Bay Board of Trade, vol. 81, O, o, 4. Commenting on the above, the editor says: "In the foregoing remarks by Hutchinson to the Lords of Trade, his statement in regard to the benefit of clergy was made solely with reference to convictions of burglary, under the provincial statute, 1715–1716, Chap. 1. The benefit of clergy was allowed, even by the colonial Court of Assistants, on conviction of manslaughter, and by the Superior Court of the province on conviction of manslaughter, bigamy, and perhaps other felonies. The application to the Act of 1715–1716, of that rule of construction by which the benefit of clergy was held not to be denied by the Act because not expressly taken away, seems not to have occurred to the lawyers until some time after 1754, when Michael Fowler was executed, in Hampshire County, for burglary. Owing to the imperfection of the records of the Superior Court it is impossible to ascertain precisely when this claim was first allowed in a case of burglary, and Hutchinson's statement must, therefore, be accepted as the nearest approximation to the time now possible. In 1763, Philip Robinson, who was convicted of burglary in Suffolk, was pardoned, and, after that, the juries seem to have intentionally acquitted persons indicted for burglary, of the breaking and entering, and to have convicted them of larceny — the former offense being punishable, wherever benefit of clergy was allowed, simply by branding, while the latter was punishable by whipping, a payment to the owner of treble the value of the property and an alternative sentence of servitude for a term of years, in case of inability to pay the fine; besides the costs of prosecution in all cases — see 1692–3, Chap. 18, § 3."

19, 1776, appointed a committee which was to obtain lists from towns of their inhabitants who had gone to Boston, and on April 1 a second committee was named to provide what should be done with the refugees disclosed by the lists. On the recommendation of this latter committee a special court was created, consisting of seven justices of the peace of Suffolk County, and began to exercise its authority. With changes in powers and constitution the Court, effective only for Suffolk County, continued to act until superseded by a general law giving full power to the executive [Council, at the time of passing the law] to arrest and imprison "any person whom the Council shall deem the safety of the Commonwealth requires should be restrained of his personal liberty, or whose enlargement within this state is dangerous thereto," to continue in imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, until discharged.[30]

Internal enemies were dealt with by a law passed one day later, May 10, intended to supplement the act just described. It provided for a trial by jury and those judged to be dangerous were to be sent to the Board of War for transportation to some part of the West Indies or Europe. If any such should return during the war, without permission of the General Court, he was on conviction to be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.[31] The Act expired January 1, 1778. Between that date and February 3 there was no law for transporting these alleged enemies. Then an oath of fidelity and allegiance was provided under which any refusing to take it could be transported, and if they returned without permission they should suffer the pains of death, without benefit of clergy.[32] Of this act Mr. Goodell says: "Even this act did not expressly forbid the return of those who were intended to be excluded from the benefit of citizenship by reason of their adherence to the king, but left them the chance of escaping detection through the forbearance of their neighbors, or of persons in authority, and only subjected those who did not so escape to the risk of being expelled, under the extreme penalty provided for a return after such expulsion."[33]

[30] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 1776–77, ch. 45. Passed May 9, 1777.
[31] *Acts and Resolves*, 1776–77, ch. 48. Passed May 10, 1777.
[32] *Ib.*, 1777–78, ch. 18. Passed Feb. 3, 1778.
[33] *Ib.*, v. 1004.

During 1778 some refugees sought to return from English territory to Massachusetts, and Rhode Island offered a convenient "port of entry" for such. Under the natural uneasiness caused by this movement the General Court wrote to the general commanding in Rhode Island to prevent the entrance of such persons and issued a general warning against attempting to return without permission, "upon pain of what shall fall thereon." Eight months passed when on Sept. 24, 1778, a joint committee was appointed to consider what further provision was necessary to prevent the return of enemies, showing that there must have been a sufficiently large inflow to attract attention. The committee passed through some changes, but on October 13 a bill was presented which became a law entitled, "to prevent the return to this State, of certain persons therein named, and others, who have left this State, or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof." A long list of refugees covered towns throughout the Commonwealth and included some of the most respected names of that period. If apprehended they were to be transported to some part or place within the dominions, or in the possession of the forces, of the King of Great Britain, and if they returned without permission, they should "suffer the pains of death, without benefit of clergy." [34] The prominence of the persons named or known acts committed measured the alarm of the State at their power to do mischief by their mere presence. Some of those who had gone with Howe sought to return, and some even had returned.

Some years later, March 11, 1785, there was passed "An Act for taking away the Benefit of Clergy in all Cases whatsoever and directing adequate Punishment for the Crimes where the same used to be allowed." The preamble, perhaps worth quoting, declares that:

[34] *Acts and Resolves,* v. 1778–79, ch. 24. Passed October 16, 1778. It is worthy of note that no other New England state followed Massachusetts in decreeing death "without benefit of clergy" against returning refugees. New Hampshire, however, would sentence them to transportation and death on return.

In the old North Church in Boston is a tablet to the Reverend Mather Byles, Jr. (+ 1814), which states: "Loyal to the King he was banished by the Act of 1778 'to suffer death without benefit of clergy' if he should return." I owe this information to Miss Mary Cochrane Rogers, of Boston.

Whereas the plea of benefit of clergy, though it was originally founded on superstition and injustice, yet, by long usage and the humanity of the criminal law is so interwoven with as to become very essential in its present system, but, forasmuch as the operation of it consists only in the mitigation of the punishment of those crimes where it is allowed, which in most cases operate very inadequately and for which more adequate remedies may be provided:

The Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, enact that benefit of clergy "shall not be used in any case whatsoever, unless in the prosecution for crimes committed before the passage of this Act, for which the said plea of Benefit of Clergy would have been allowed." The alternative was certainly disquieting enough. The prisoner was to be set in the gallows one hour with a rope about his neck, the other end cast over the gallows, he was to pay a fine of £500, to be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes and bound to good behavior "or suffer one or more of the above punishments, according to the aggravation of the offense." [35]

In the colonial laws of Connecticut the punishment for manslaughter, although benefit of clergy is not mentioned, is similar to that in cases where it was allowed. Those convicted for this offense might be sentenced to forfeit their goods and chattels, to be whipped on the naked body, to be burned on the hand with an M and disabled from giving a verdict or evidence in court.[36]

All that has been discovered concerning the subject in the Middle Colonies and States relates to Pennsylvania and Delaware, and that is scanty enough. In the former Colony an Act, passed 31 May, 1718, and approved and confirmed by the King's Council, 26 May, 1719, declares that persons standing mute and challenging jurors peremptorily above twenty, shall suffer as felons convict and shall lose benefit of clergy.[37] In Delaware apparently all that can be said is that the privilege was abolished in 1852.[38]

As to Virginia, there were various enactments on the sub-

[35] *The Perpetual Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,* Boston, 1801, I. 227.

[36] *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut,* Hartford, 1786, 135.

[37] *Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania,* ed. 1879, I. 372.

[38] *Journal of Negro History,* VIII. 445.

ject, and one significant case was reported. In May, 1730, it was enacted that persons who shall "maliciously, unlawfully and willingly" burn "any tobacco-house, ware-house, or store-house, or any house or place where wheat, Indian corn or other grain is kept," shall "be adjudged felons without benefit of clergy."[39] This was to apply also to "divers lewd and wicked persons" who broke into ware-houses and store-houses and stole to the value of twenty shillings.[40] Two years later a decidedly comprehensive Act was passed. Stealing slaves was made a capital non-clergyable offense.[41] Then, to avoid all doubt, acts prior to James I,[42] taking away clergy from various felonies were made operative in Virginia, the privilege was extended to women, and it was further specified that negroes should be included, with the penalties of burning in the hand and whipping. Certain offenses in their case were ousted of clergy: manslaughter, felonious breaking and entering any house in the night time, or breaking and entering in the day time and taking goods or chattels to the value of five shillings.[43] These provisions were apparently re-enacted in 1748.[44] Benefit of clergy was abolished in Virginia for free persons in 1796, though not for slaves till 1848.[45]

The famous Virginia case was tried November, 1787, when the judges, including one of the admiralty and three of the chancery court,[46] rendered opinions. One John Price Posey was indicted on the charges that, between ten and two at night, he had, "with force and arms," burned the house of William Clayton, and the "common goal and county prison" in New Kent. The two points at issue were, whether the indictment was sufficient, and whether arson had ever been ousted of clergy by statute. Eight of the judges, with some qualifications, took the affirmative on both these points. Two dissented.

[39] 3 & 4 Geo. II, c. 4, §§ 1 & 2. *Hening's Statutes*, IV. 271.

[40] *Ib.* §§ 3 & 4, 272.

[41] 5 & 6 Geo. II, c. 6, § 1. *Ib.*, 324.

[42] The date of the settlement of Jamestown.

[43] 5 & 6 Geo. II, c. 5, §§ 1–4. IV. *Hening*, 325.

[44] 22 Geo. II, c. 13, *Ib., v.* 546.

[45] *Journal of Negro History*, VIII. 445. The Code of 1919 declares: "There shall be no plea of benefit of clergy, nor any distinction between murder and petit treason; but the last mentioned offense shall be punished as murder." *Virginia Code*, 1919, § 4761. [46] Commonwealth *vs.* Posey, 4 Call, 109–124.

The argument of the counsel for the prosecution on the point with which this paper is concerned was that the prisoner was not entitled to benefit of clergy because it had been taken away by statute. The counsel for Posey contended that he was entitled to his privilege; because "burning houses was not a felony at common law punishable with death," and that the statutes cited "did not oust." [47] The opinion of Justice Tyler, the first in the report, gives most of the essentials of the majority decision. "I am of the opinion," he declared, "that the prisoner is not entitled to the benefit of clergy. For arson was punishable with death at the common law, and although clergy was allowed by the Statute *pro clero,* 25 Ed. III, c. 4, yet it was taken away by the Statues of the 23 and 25 H. VIII; and, notwithstanding, the latter was repealed, for a time, by the 1 Ed. VI, it was revived *in toto* by the 6 Ed. VI. This is sound construction of the Statute; and the decisions have all been conformable to it. Powlter's case, 11 Co. 9, is clear; and Coke, Hale, Hawkins, and Foster unite in opinion that it was correct." And here he indulges in this informing reflection: "The point, therefore, no longer admits of discussion; for, were it even less clear, it would be dangerous to decide against such long admitted precedents upon statutes of such antiquity." [48]

Justice Tazewell, who differed from his colleague on the interpretation of the statutes by which benefit of clergy was considered to be ousted, ventured to declare that: "Precedents, like many other things, may be carried too far . . . a precedent is formed, which, because it has the sanction of two hundred years, we are told is to have the validity of a statute." [49] Justice Fleming, on the other hand, while he admitted that he was "not clear that 23 H. VIII was revived by 6 Ed. VI," or "by the parliamentary construction as it has been called in the 4 & 5 P. & M.," concurred because: "The decision in Powlter's case has been so uniformly considered as the true construction of the Statutes, that it has become the law of the land, for precedents, so long acquiesced in, cannot be overturned, without more danger than benefit." [50]

[47] 4 Call, 112–113.
[48] *Ib.*, 114.
[49] *Ib.*, 117.
[50] *Ib.*, 119–120.

With particular reference to Powlter's case Justice Lyons expressed himself at more length to the same effect. "For the solemn decisions of the judges upon a statute," so he maintained,

> became a part of the Statute, 1 Burr, 419, and the security of men's lives and property, require that they should be adhered to, for precedents serve to regulate our conduct; and there is more danger to be apprehended from uncertainty, than from any exposition, because where the rule is settled, men know how to conform to it; but, when all is uncertain they are left in the dark, and constantly liable to error; for the same offense which, at one time, was thought entitled to clergy, at another may be deemed capital; and thus the life or death of the citizen will be made to depend upon the opinion of the judge, who may happen to try him, than which a more miserable state of things cannot be conceived.[1]

Blair, one of the other judges, questioned whether 23 H. VIII, ousting arson, had been revived beyond a doubt; yet, he too took the ground that "The decision in Powlter's case has prevailed so long that it must be submitted to."[2] Wythe, a judge of the high court of chancery, dissented from the majority on the point concerning benefit of clergy, but concludes with the cryptic statement that "it would be tedious and unnecessary to state his reasons for it."[3]

The certificate filed with the general court stated that the prisoner was not entitled to benefit of clergy.[4] Aside from finding that arson had been ousted of clergy by statute, the court ruled that, at common law, it is not necessary to state that the house burnt was a "dwelling house," for the word "house" imports it.[5] A note by the reporter, Daniel Call, states that:

> No case decided since the Revolution, is more important than this, as it fixes, by the position of a large majority of the judges distinguished for their patriotism, independence and ability, a principle necessary for the tranquility of society, and the safety of the general transactions of mankind, namely that a settled construction of a statute forms a precedent which should be adhered to as part of the law itself, and ought, upon no criticism of words,

[1] *Ib.*, 120, citing 1 Vern. 18, 3 Burr, 1730, per Wilmot J.
[2] *Ib.*, 122.
[3] *Ib.*, same page.
[4] *Ib.*, 124.
[5] *Ib.*, 109.

to be departed from. Accordingly, the decisions of the court, since that period abound with decisions of the same kind." [6]

So late as 1888, in a West Virginia case, in discussing the definition of larceny, a brief history of benefit of clergy was introduced, with the conclusion, drawn from Blackstone and other authorities, that it was recognized by common law for a first offense, unless taken away by statute.[7]

If one can judge from the records available, benefit of clergy was longest and most extensively employed in the Carolinas. In North Carolina alone nine cases have been discovered.[8] The privilege was not abolished in that State till 1854 and it was legal in South Carolina for fully a decade longer. The first legislation in the Carolinas on the subject dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. At a meeting of the North Carolina General Assembly, 16 October, 1749, was passed " An Act to put in Force in the Province the several Statutes of the Kingdom of England or South Britain, therein particularly mentioned." These included: 4 H. VII, c. 13, which provided that clergy should be allowed but once; 5 & 6 Ed. VI, c. 9, an Act for taking away Benefit of Clergy from certain offenders, and similar Acts, 8 Eliz., c. 21, and 3 & 4 W. & M., c. 9, designed also to exclude certain offenders and to bring others to punishment.[9] The celebrated Act of Anne was not mentioned; nevertheless, from at least one earlier case, it is evident that it was already in operation. This case perhaps deserves to be quoted in full as a typical example of the procedure of the period.

North Carolina – ss.

To Christopher Gale, Esq: Cheif Justice and the rest of the Justices for holding the Gen[era]l Court of Sessions begun and held at Edenton the last Tuesday in July one thousand Seven hundred and twenty Seven.

The Jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King on their Oath do present that Elijah Stanton of the precinct of perquimons in the

[6] *Ib.*, 124.

[7] State *vs.* Chambers, 22 W. Va., 799–800.

[8] Including three discovered by Professor Boyd relating to negro slaves. Slaves were admitted to the privilege in 1816. *Journal of Negro History*, VIII. 445.

[9] *North Carolina Colonial Records*, XXIII. 321–325.

Sayd province planter not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved and instigated by the Devill in the precinct of perquimons aforesayd on the sixteenth day of June One thousand Seven hundred and twenty seven in the night of the same day by force and armes the Mansion or Dwelling house of Thomas Weeks of and in the sayd precinct planter feloniously and burglariously did break into and enter thence feloniously and burglariously did take and carry away eight pounds five shillings publick bills of Credit of this province and between two and three Gallons of Hogs lard or Fatt two middle peices of Bacon and eighteen yards of Cloth being the moneys or Bills and proper Goods and Chattells of the sayd Thomas Weeks against the peace of Our Lord the King that now is his Crown and dignity, etc. Upon which Indictment he was arraigned and upon his Arraignm[en]t he pleaded (Not guilty) and for Tryall thereof put himself upon the Country Whereupon the Marshall was commanded to cause to come twelve etc. and there came Capt. William Downing [eleven more enumerated] who being impannelled and Sworne on their Oath do say Wee of the Jury do find the prisoner Guilty of Felony to [the value of] the thirty shills. Signed.

WM. DOWNING *Foreman.*

And then the Sayd Elijah Stanton being called and brought to the Barr and being askt if he had anything to say why Sentence of Death should not pass against him prayed the Benefit of the Act of Parliament made in the twelfth year of Queen Anne wherein the Clergy is allowed if the goods are not found to be of the value of forty shills.

Wherefore It is Considered Sentenced and adjudged that he be burnt in the hand with the letter T also that he give Security for his good behavior for twelve Months and one day himself in the sum of fifty pounds and two Sureties in twenty five pounds each And then to be discharged paying fees.[10]

The next case occurred 5 March, 1777, when the jurors of the Salisbury District of North Carolina presented one William Anderson, "late of Unity Parish in the County of Guilford, within the district of Salisbury, Laborer," who, on February 28, 1777, "one hundred Dollars of the Bills of Credit of the said State of the proper goods and chattels of David

[10] Three persons were allowed a total of £ 8 17 *s.* 6 *d.* fees and costs for apprehending, conveying to prison and giving evidence against the prisoner. *Ib.*, II. 708, 709.

Lowe, of the value of twenty pounds sterling . . . with Force and Arms feloniously did steal, take and carry away, against the Dignity, Peace and good Government of the said State." Pleading not guilty, " for good and ill " he " put himself upon his Country." The jury found him guilty in the indictment specified, and possessed of " no goods or chattels, Lands or Tenements to the Knowledge of the said Jurors." Thereupon, he prayed his clergy, and was sentenced to be " publickly branded on the Ball of the Thumb of the left Hand with the Letter T." After the sentence was executed the said William Anderson was " remanded to Gaol with all Fees paid . . . took an Oath of Insolvency and was discharged." [11]

In the State *vs.* Elizabeth Gray, which came to the Supreme Court from Hillsborough in December, 1806, the only question involved was whether the defendant, who was convicted of grand larceny, was entitled to benefit of clergy. It was decided " By the Court — no reason can at this day exist why Females shall not be entitled to the benefit of clergy as well as males.[12] We are therefore of opinion that the defendant is entitled to the benefit of clergy, upon praying the same to be extended to her." [13]

The following case throws a flash of light upon the social conditions in the South at that time. The prisoner, named Kearney, had been convicted in Warren at the April term, in 1820, of manslaughter. After praying the benefit of clergy, which was allowed him, he was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars and to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, and to stand committed until the fine and the costs of prosecution were paid. He appealed from the sentence on the ground that the court could not, in law, render such judgment. It was held that under the Act of 1816, c. 20, corporal punishment and fine could not both be inflicted on a person convicted of a felony, within clergy, and also " that the infamous punishment of whipping, therein provided, ought to be restricted to infamous crimes: so that the construction of the statute is, to refer the fine to manslaughter and the whipping to larceny and the like." Taylor, C. J., in delivering the opinion of the court, stated *inter alia:*

[11] *Ib.*, XXII. 505, 506. [12] See p. 166, *supra.* [13] 5 North Carolina, 147.

Public corporal punishment for any offense impresses an indelible stigma on the character and ought to be inflicted on those offenses only which are infamous in their nature. It seems to be altogether misapplied to manslaughter, even in the highest grade of which the law regards as the effect of human frailty, and it certainly has and may be again committed by men, to whom neither cupidity nor revenge could prompt to the commission of a base or dishonorable action. The best of men may be overcome by momentary anger, and incited, by strong provocation, to an act of violence before the judgment has had time to parley with itself.

The judgment was therefore reversed so far as it ordered the prisoner to be whipped and affirmed as to the fine.[14]

In June, 1842, a case was brought before the court on appeal by the Attorney General from the judgment of the Superior Court of Wake County. It concerns a hardy perennial and in its various phases bristles with technicalities that would delight a criminal lawyer of the present day. One Hardy Carroll was indicted for and convicted of grand larceny. The Attorney General having moved for judgment, the judge demanded of the said Hardy Carroll what he had to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him. Whereupon, the prisoner, through his counsel, craved the benefit of his clergy, upon which it was suggested by the Attorney General that he had before been convicted of a grand larceny and felony, and had then had extended to him his clergy, and so was not entitled to it a second time. Moreover, the Attorney General offered to the court the original records, showing the former conviction and the granting of the clergy. It was objected by the prisoner's counsel that there should be a counterplea in writing, which should set forth the former indictment, verdict and writing, and that objection would not be received *ore tenus,* as the prisoner had the right to reply *nul tiel record,* and that he was not the same person, and had a right to trial by jury as to his identity. The court sustained the prisoner's objection to the *ore tenus* suggestion of the Attorney General, and allowed him his clergy, pronouncing a judgment that he be twice publicly whipped, receiving each time thirty-nine lashes on his bare back. There-

[14] 8 North Carolina, 53–56.

upon, the Attorney General prayed an appeal, which appeal was allowed by the court.[15]

The granting of the above appeal did not result in disposing of Carroll, for he turns up on another count two years later. It was in the form of an appeal from the Superior Court of Franklin County at the Fall term, 1844. The defendant was indicted for burglary and grand larceny in the Johnston Superior Court at the Spring term, 1844, and on his affidavit the case was removed to the Superior Court of Franklin County, where he was tried and convicted of grand larceny. When brought to the bar of the court to receive his sentence, the judge then presiding refused to pronounce judgment, because of a defect in the record certified from the Johnston Superior Court, and ordered a *certiorari* for a more perfect transcript. At the Fall term, 1844, of the Franklin Superior Court, he was again brought to the bar for judgment, and asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced. Although the Attorney General advanced evidence to show that he had already been convicted in three clergyable felonies, his counsel was ready with various technicalities. Of those which the judge considered seriatim, three may be touched on here.

First. When the prisoner had succeeded in having the case removed from the Superior Court of Johnston to that of Franklin the latter court had ordered a writ of *certiorari* to issue to the Johnston Court to send up a complete record of the case. The clerk had done so, but had enclosed it in the paper on which the *certiorari* was written. The objection was made that the transcript was not attached or fastened to the writ. The judge ruled that it was not indispensable for the transcript to be wafered or attached, provided that it was established — as was the case — that it was the proper transcript. Secondly. That when Carroll pleaded his clergy the prosecutor had entered the counterplea " for and in behalf of the State " that the prisoner had previously on three several occasions, been allowed his clergy for grand larceny. The prisoner maintained that he was not the same person mentioned in the records. Nevertheless, the judge ruled that his identity had been proved by a jury. Thirdly. In view of the fact that, in

[15] State *vs.* Hardy Carroll, 24 North Carolina, 258.

England, counterpleas were filed either in the name of the Attorney General, the clerk of the Crown office in the King's Bench or the clerk of the Court of Assizes — *i.e.* some person judicially known to the Court — it was objected that the counterplea should have been filed by the Attorney General. On this point the judge held that "Prosecutors on indictments are persons taken notice of by our laws," and added that the counterplea had been adopted by the Attorney General. Accordingly, he ruled that there had been no fatal irregularity. Having taken cognizance of these and other points, which may be passed over, the judge concluded: "We have considered all the objections, taken by the prisoner, against the judgment against him in the Superior Court, and we are unable to find any ground why judgment should be reversed, or why a new trial should be granted him. This court is therefore of the opinion, that the judgment was therefore correct, and should therefore be affirmed. And this opinion will be certified to the Superior Court of Law, for Franklin County, in order that it may proceed to final judgment and execution." It was "ordered accordingly." [16]

Professor William K. Boyd has printed transcripts of three cases, from the records of the Supreme Court of Richmond County, North Carolina, in which negro slaves were allowed to plead their clergy. Two came up in the fall term of 1828 and one in the spring term of 1832. Though all three were charged with burglary they were found guilty of grand larceny. The first of these was evidently regarded as the worst offense; for, in addition to receiving thirty-nine lashes, the culprit had to "stand committed till his master enter into recognizance of $200 for his good behavior for the space of twelve months and pay cost of Prosecution." Twenty lashes in each of the other two cases were deemed sufficient punishment.[17]

Passing now to South Carolina, the first case reported is that of Benjamin Addington, convicted of horse stealing under the Act of 1789.[18] In May, 1830, he received judgment of death, to be executed 11 June. Forthwith, however, he was pardoned by the Governor, on condition that he undergo

[16] The State *vs.* Hardy Carroll, 27 North Carolina, 139–144.

[17] *Journal of Negro History*, VIII. 443, 444.

[18] *Prov. Laws*, 486.

thirty-nine lashes and leave the State never to return. He was accordingly whipped and discharged from prison, 10 June; but did not leave the State. In consequence, he was arrested 27 January, 1831, for violation of a condition of his pardon. Meantime, the legislature, by an Act of December, 1830, had substituted whipping, fine and imprisonment as a punishment for horse stealing, formerly a non-clergyable felony. It was held that he had undergone the substitute punishment, and that, because so much of the Act of 1789 as had made the offense capital had been repealed since his re-arrest, he could no longer be punished under that Act.[19]

At the May term, 1849, one James H. Sutcliffe was convicted for "burning a certain house of Thomas Corcoran." Having prayed his clergy it was decided on his behalf that "where the indictment charges the burning of a *house,* benefit of clergy is not taken away by the statute which takes it away from the burning of a *dwelling house,* or a barn having corn or grain in it." This was based on the contention that the mere burning of a house "without some description thereof, shewing it to be a dwelling house or a parcel thereof, or a barn with corn or grain or hay, not a parcel of a dwelling house, will not support a felonious judgment either at common law, or by virtue of any British statute made of force in this State, or Act of Assembly known of." At common law, so ran the argument, "the burning of the house of another" was felony; but clergyable in accordance with an accepted interpretation of the statute, *pro clero,*[20] "declarative of common law and restrictive of clergy." Moreover, none of the subsequent statutes [21] bearing on the case had the effect of ousting clergy for the burning of a house.

This view was sharply contested; for example, Hayne, the Attorney General, declared,[22] that "the English reports furnish no instance of clergy allowed to one, out of orders, convicted of arson, but cite many where the culprits were hanged for that offense." He referred to Powlter's case and to

[19] South Carolina, 2 Bailey, 516.

[20] 25 Ed. III, c. 4.

[21] 23 H. VIII, 4 & 5; P. & M., 22 & 23, c. II; 9 Geo. I; and South Carolina, Act of Assembly, 1828.

[22] 1 Hale's P. C. 570.

Posey's [22] in support of his position. Also he took occasion to pay his respects to the two dissenting judges in the latter case in the following words: "The cases of Elmensdorf *vs.* Taylor, 10 Wheaton, 152; Coates *vs.* Muse, Brock, 539; and a host of others of a like character were then unknown, or they might perhaps, being American, have influenced those two patriotic gentlemen, who scorned, it seems, to be controlled by British authority." However, the court held that 23 H. VIII, c. 1, in ousting clergy for arson, distinctly specified dwelling houses, and that 9 Geo. I, c. 22, the celebrated "Black Act," which included all houses, stacks, ricks, etc., without distinction, was not in force in South Carolina. Finally, it was very humanely declared that: "If there be a doubt whether clergy be taken away from the offense charged, the duty of the Court is to give the Criminal the benefit of the doubt." [24]

The trial of Louis Bosse brought up, though not for the first time, an extremely interesting point. The prisoner was indicted for burning, on the night of March 10, 1855, a house in Walhalla [25] in process of building. There was no reason to suppose that he knew or had any ill will to the owner. "He was ordinarily quiet and peaceable, civil and industrious, but was addicted to occasional drunkenness, and when in liquor was exalted, lively, excited, wild, not seeming to know what he did." The evidence appeared to indicate that the accused was drunk, and though drunkenness was held not to be an excuse for crime, it tended to show that the burning was without premeditated malice. However, the issue centered on the indictment and conviction under 22 & 23 c. II, relating to burning houses in the night time.

The judge who delivered the opinion of the court emphasized the following points: "The 4th section provides that persons convicted of any offense made felony by virtue of this Act as aforesaid, (to avoid judgment of death, or execution thereupon for such his offense) shall make his election to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations, and that judgment shall be made accordingly." The above Act was made of force in South Carolina in 1712. "At the instance of the

[23] See p. 166, *supra*.

[24] The State *vs.* James H. Sutcliffe, So. Ca., Strobhart, 372–407.

[25] A peculiarly appropriate name, since Bosse was a German.

prisoner's counsel," continued the judge, " we have considered the question, whether clergy is taken away from this offense. The well settled rule," he declared, was " that when a statute makes a new felony, clergy is incident thereto unless it be specially taken away by Act of Parliament " in Great Britain [26] or of the legislature in this State. This was a new felony created by statute and clergy was not expressly taken away. The argument that it was taken away " rests upon implication merely, arising from the provision substituting transportation for judgment of death. It might well be, even in England, that if the prisoner refused to make his election, the Court would allow him his clergy under the plain principle, that this was a new statutory felony, and that from it clergy had not been taken away. In this State, however, there can be no difficulty. For the clause allowing an election of transportation cannot be at all enforced, and hence it is the same as if struck out of the Statute. This leaves the offender to be punished 'as in the case of felony,' and there can be no doubt that clergy must be allowed." [27]

Curiously enough, so far west as Minnesota, and so late as 1859, in the case of one Anne Bilansky, convicted of murdering her husband, clergy was claimed on the ground that her crime was petit treason according to the law and hence entitled to clergy.[28] It was argued in behalf of the prisoner that the verdict — guilty of murder — was against evidence, because the crime committed was murder in the second degree or petit treason. *Rev. Stat.*, 523, § 14. ch. 109, which provides that petit treason shall be prosecuted and punished as murder in the second degree — is inconsistent, because it abolishes the distinction between murder and petit treason and then makes a distinction in favor of the more aggravated of-

[26] He cites 2 Hale, P. C. Chap. 45, 330, repeated in Hawkins, Book 2, chap. 33, § 24.

[27] Five judges concurred. The State *vs.* Louis Bosse, Richardson, Law, 8 So. Car., 276–283. In the State *vs.* Garcy, convicted in 1833 of killing a horse in the night time, under 22 & 23 C. 11, C. 7 and " in a case in Walterboro several years ago," where a prisoner was convicted of burning a house with fodder in it, the same judge who delivered the opinion in the Bosse case had held that the prisoners were entitled to clergy.

[28] Petit treason was made non-clergyable by 12 H. VII, c. 7; but this may not have applied to women.

fense. If on these grounds the Statute should be nugatory, there was no statute in Minnesota abolishing petit treason and benefit of clergy; hence the indictment and conviction should have been for petty treason which had been made clergyable to mitigate the rigor of the common law for the benefit of females.[29]

Justice Flandrau delivered a long opinion, in the course of which he said: "It is quite remarkable that a court in this country, at this day, should be called to investigate and decide questions of the benefit of clergy and petit treason, yet the peculiar provisions of our Statute render it necessary. These subjects have so long been looked upon by lawyers and courts as practically obsolete, that we enter upon an examination of them more in a spirit of curious research than of useful application." [30] Obviously he was unaware of the Carolina cases, one of them only four years old. "This plea," he continues, "has never had any practical application in the United States, and had it, in the absence of any Statutory provision, been claimed as a common law right in any State, it would have been denied." [31] In spite of his lack of acquaintance with the operation of benefit of clergy in parts of his own country, Judge Flandrau's interpretation of the law of Minnesota is convincing.

Commenting on the section in the Statute of 1851 which aimed to abolish the distinction between murder and petit treason, he remarks that such distinction was not recognized at the time the Statute was enacted. The Organic Act of the Territory of Minnesota, by section twelve, kept in force, in the Territory, the laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, which were in force "at the date of the admission of Wisconsin, which occurred on the 29th day of May, 1848. 9 *U. S. Stat. at Large,* 233. By the Laws of the Territory then in force, no such distinction existed, and all killing was murder and punished by hanging.[32] . . . There was, therefore, nothing for the Statute of 1851 of Minnesota to operate upon, for there was nothing to abolish, and the same paragraph by

[29] State of Minnesota *vs.* Anne Bilansky. 3 Minn. Reports, 171.
[30] *Ib.,* 171.
[31] *Ib.,* 174.
[32] He cites: Stat. Wis. Terr., 1839, 347, § 1; 379, §9; 383, § 13.

which it attempts to destroy this distinction between murder and petit treason " defines murder, but " makes no distinction in favor of or against any class or sex of persons who shall offend against its provisions." [33]

Among his further reasons for holding that the Statute cannot have the force given it which was contended for the prisoner was that:

The Revised Statutes contain a provision that when the provisions of different statutes conflict with or contravene each other, " the provisions of each chapter shall prevail as to all matters and questions growing out of the subject matter of such chapter." *Rev. Stat.* 579, § 12. The chapter on murder, which defines the crime carefully, fully brings the case of the prisoner within its provisions, and the chapter which contains the provision by which a distinction is sought to be made in her favor is devoted to " general provisions concerning crimes and punishments," and treats of a multitude of different subjects; where a provision in such a chapter conflicts with one in a chapter devoted to a particular subject, the latter must prevail under the rule of constitution above cited.

Hence he concludes that the court was right in concluding that the crime was murder in the first degree.[34]

Nearly forty years previously an Indiana judge had been equally oblivious of the existence of benefit of clergy in American procedure. In the case of Fuller *vs.* the State, July term, 1820, he took occasion to express himself thus:

It is said that Court below erred in refusing to the prisoner the benefit of clergy. As to this objection there can surely be but one opinion. The benefit of clergy was never properly a common law privilege, 1 Chitt. Crim. Law, 667. It originated with that of sanctuary in the gloomy days of popery. It was the offspring of that absurd and superstitious veneration for a privileged order in society, which unfortunately existed in those ages of darkness, when the persons of clergymen were viewed as consecrated ground. The Statutes of England on the subject are local to the kingdom. They were not made in aid of the common law, and were certainly not adopted as the law of our country.[35]

[33] Minn. *vs.* Bilansky, 175.

[34] *Ib.*, 176.

[35] Indiana, 1 Blackford's Reports, 63. Professor Boyd comments on this opinion. *Journal of Negro History,* VIII. 447.

However that may be, the United States government took the precaution to abolish benefit of clergy in 1789–90 by a Federal Statute entitled "An Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which declares: "that the benefit of clergy shall not be used or allowed upon conviction of any crime, for which, by any statute of the United States, the punishment is or shall be declared to be death." [36] However, it is interesting to note that subsequently two cases came up, both for bigamy, in the District of Columbia. The first was tried in the circuit court, April term 1817; it was an indictment for bigamy in Alexandria, D. C., of Joshua, *alias* Joseph Lambert. The verdict was guilty — recommended to mercy by the jury. The Court decided that he was entitled to the benefit of clergy, and sentenced him to be burnt in the hand, and recognize in five hundred dollars for his good behavior for one year and to stand committed till the costs be paid.[37] The second was an indictment for bigamy under the Maryland Act of 1706, c. 8, which "enacted and declared" the British Statute of 1 Jas. I, c. 11 against bigamy to be in force in the then province of Maryland. This, by the Bill of Rights of the State and by the Act of Congress of February 27, 1801,[38] it was held, became the law of the "county of Washington." The prisoner, having been in jail for nearly or not quite a year, withdrew his motion for a new trial, and the Court "in consideration for his long imprisonment, sentenced him to serve seven days further imprisonment, and dispensed with the burning in the hand." [39]

Gradually the privilege was abolished in the States where it was recognized. Professor Boyd gives the dates for eleven slave-holding states: Virginia for free persons in 1796, for slaves in 1848; Kentucky for free persons in 1798, for slaves in 1852; Alabama for all in 1807; [40] Maryland, 1809; Georgia, 1817; Mississippi, 1822; Arkansas, 1838; Missouri,

[36] 1789–90, C. 36, § 30. *The Public and General Statutes passed by the Congress of the United States of America from 1789 to 1827 inclusive, published under the direction of Joseph Story.* Boston, 1828.

[37] U. S. *vs.* Lambert, 26 U. S. Case 15554.

[38] 2 U. S. Stat., 103.

[39] U. S. *vs.* Jennegan, 26 U. S., 15474.

[40] The Code of Ala. 1823, 5266, gives the date as 1802.

1845; Delaware, 1852; North Carolina, 1854; and South Carolina, "sometime during the Reconstruction period."[41] Apparently, in this latter State, the knowledge of the custom lingered even outside the courts until a comparatively late period; for Governor McDuffie, in his annual message of 1835, referring to the Abolitionists as "these wicked monsters and deluded fanatics," added that "the laws of every community should punish this species of interferers by death without benefit of clergy." Professor Boyd suggests that one reason why benefit of clergy continued longer for slaves than for free persons was that the alternative to the customary whipping and burning was a prison sentence which would have deprived the owners of their labor. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in Florida[42] and in Louisiana where, probably because of their respective Spanish and French origin, no clergy existed, the court, in cases of slaves convicted of crimes involving the death penalty, might, at its discretion, impose lesser punishments. In the Black Code of Florida whipping and burning were distinctly specified.[43] Outside the slave states, in addition to Massachusetts, already mentioned, the only states whose codes record the abolition of benefit of clergy are Illinois[44] and Michigan.[45]

Thus, after saving a few lives, deservedly let us hope, this queer old legal fiction, a product of the old world, gradually expired in the new.

Spanish–American Documents

In presenting copies of Spanish documents relating to America, the originals of which are in his collection, Mr. Francis R. Hart also submitted the following notes in explanation of some of the items:

[41] *Journal Negro History*, VIII. 445.

[42] Nevertheless, it is stated, Feb. 10, 1832, "The doctrine of benefit of clergy shall have no operation in this State." *Rev. Gen. Stats.* (1920), II. 5026.

[43] *Journal Negro History*, VIII. 447.

[44] Apparently by Gen. Act of 1874. Callahan, Ill. Stats. Annot, III. Ch. 38, 762.

[45] "The plea of benefit of clergy and the distinction between murder and petit treason are abolished." *The Compiled Laws of the State of Michigan*, II. 1567, Sec. 14. Published by Authority, by Thomas M. Cooley.

Galleons, Contract for, 2 April, 1590. This is a manuscript contract, in Spanish, for the construction of two Galleons of 600 tons each for transatlantic transport. Juan Uribe de Apallua contracts to build for His Majesty (Philip II) two galleons according to measures, draught and plan ordered by the King, and to make all necessary repairs on these ships for a period of ten years, the duration of the contract.

The cost of these repairs is to be met from certain taxes imposed upon the merchants and merchandise concerned in the trade with America. The actual building cost of the vessels is to be paid by instalments included in the " salary " or charter-money earned by the ships, covering which there are precise specifications. The government bureau charged with the collection of the tax from merchants is to advance immediately 14,000 ducats as an advance towards the construction costs, which advance is to be amortized by serial payments which are a charge upon the charter-money. The same government office, from the day the vessels are launched, is to provide the wages of the men necessary to rig the ships and to furnish all provisions, artillery, arms and munitions; when ready for sea it is also to provide the officers and seamen.

One article in the contract closely resembles the United States " Priority Certificates " issued during the late war to assure material for government purposes. It is recited that as other shipbuilding by private individuals will be underway at the same time which will render it difficult to secure materials, the King is to cause to be issued the necessary priority permit; this permit is to provide in effect for arbitration as to prices and ultimate recourse to the courts. The reference to a total of ten galleons to be built justifies the inference that eight other ships were to be under construction at this same time.

Adequate provisions are made in detail to cover lay-ups and possible discontinuance of the expected regular service. If the Trading Fleet should be disbanded these two vessels are to be taken over by the regular Navy. It is provided that unless such disbandment takes place these galleons are not to be used out of the trade with the Indies.

An interesting stipulation is that if there should be shipped in these vessels from the Indies any gold or silver belonging to His Majesty or to private individuals, the contractor (or his appointee) shall have the right to accept or reject the person named to have charge of such gold and silver and it is provided that the supercargo appointed shall give securities to the satisfaction of specified tribunals.

Philip II. of Spain — 1573. This is the original manuscript of a Royal Decree signed by the King, by which permission is granted to Captain Alvaro Cepeda de Ayala, Governor of the Musos and Colinos, Nueva Granada, New Spain (now Colombia, S. A.), in view of his undertaking to develop the emerald mines in those provinces, to take two ships, convoyed by the fleet, with 150 slaves for the purpose of working the mines. The Decree contains in old and quaint Spanish terminology definite conditions as to limitations of time, the clearances of the ships, inspections of vessels at Cartagena, exemption from the payment of duties on the slaves, etc. The month in which the Decree is dated, although probably April, is not clearly decipherable; but the day of the month is the 16th and the year 1573. Emeralds were one of the earliest and most valuable forms of " loot " or trade exchanges of the early *conquistadores* and the exportation of these stones from Colombia has continued without interruption. The mine at Muzo, which is not far from Bogota, is still in operation (or was a few years ago).

Puerto Bello, 1679. This is a transcript of letter in Spanish, from the Governor of Puerto Bello to the King of Spain, dated 12 January, 1679, in which he reports the insubordination of the officers of the garrison at Puerto Bello; fraudulent representations at the Treasury; and other matters.

Galleons, Draft of Instructions Concerning, (1680). This is a manuscript draft of instructions, in Spanish, as to the administration of a proprietary company holding an interest in Galleons carrying silver from America to Spain. The instructions appear to have been written by the Count del Castillo and suggest that a Royal Decree should be issued appointing Martin Rodriquez de Medina as administrator, and making provision for certain succession in command and for compensation. Without study and comparison with contemporaneous documents, its full significance is not revealed. This letter should help, however, to determine some of the complex details as to the relative interests and responsibilities of the Crown and private individuals in the trade with the Indies.

Mr. FORD presented a paper on

FORGED LINCOLN LETTERS

Last autumn, while reading in Tracy's *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln,* I came upon a letter to Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, dated January 19, 1860, which did not

read to me like an authentic letter of Lincoln of that period. After some hundred pages of unquestioned writings of the man the false note sounded loud and a second reading increased my doubt. Having neither time nor wish then to go more deeply into the matter I suggested my doubt to a gentleman in Illinois even more familiar with Lincoln's writings than I am, and he promptly replied that the authenticity of the letter was certified by Stephens himself, and that seemed to close the question. Later I learned that a professor of history in a university of Ohio was asking my question of the highest authority on Southern history and had received much the same reply. *Pro forma,* I suppose, his question was repeated to me and my answer was flat: that not for a moment did I accept the letter as an authentic Lincoln document. There I rested, giving no reasons, as the Illinois and Southern experts could accept or reject my opinion and frame their own reasons for their faith.

My conscience was not wholly at rest, for I had on a mere personal impression gone against two opinions of weight and Stephens' own certification, a formidable combination to be met by any such light equipment. To assure my own doubt, or the contrary, I began an investigation and now record the result for the information of others who wish to use the Lincoln-Stephens letters.

On internal evidence — the most unsafe of all forms of evidence — I had condemned the paper as a forgery. It so happens that some years before 1860, Lincoln had fully developed his style of writing and his manner of expressing his thoughts. To such an extent had they become fixed that in extempore speeches or rough notes of what he proposed to use, that style is almost unmistakable, remarkable for its directness, clarity of thought and expression, and selection of words. Between 1856 and 1860 there exists a large body of Lincoln's letters and speeches, a certain test of his manner both spoken and written, showing a consistency that impresses the reader. After so unbroken a series the introduction of a letter clear neither in thought nor in expression, and containing references wholly unlike those of Lincoln at any period of his life, might well be questioned on its claims to be what it purported to be, certificated or not. No outside authority

could assure the doubter, yet it was by no means impossible that Lincoln *might* have shown a variation in style at that time and in corresponding with an old associate of his in the 30th Congress — that is twelve or more years before. Internal evidence was a straw in the balance only.

The manuscript of the letter of Lincoln to Stephens and Stephens' reply were in the collection of Judd Stewart of New Jersey, one of the ardent collectors of Lincolniana, and in 1909 he printed them, with other documents, in a pamphlet of limited edition. In his "Foreword" Mr. Stewart states that the papers had only recently been acquired by him and that he had no reason to doubt their authenticity. He introduces a letter from Lincoln to Crittenden, December 22, 1859; one from Stephens to Crittenden, January 13, 1860; and then follow a copy of Lincoln to Stephens, January 19, 1860, of which a duplicate was sent to Crittenden, and a reply by Stephens to Lincoln, January 25, 1860; it is these three letters — Lincoln to Crittenden, Lincoln to Stephens and Crittenden, and Stephens to Lincoln — that were certified as correct by Stephens himself. The letters of Lincoln alone concern me, though any doubt excited by them would apply to the reply of Stephens. Of one of the letters Mr. Stewart wrote in his "Foreword":

> Mr. Lincoln's letter of January 19th, 1860, to Mr. Stephens (duplicated for Senator Crittenden) was *dictated,* and, in addition, was an effort to answer both Mr. Stephens and Senator Crittenden with one letter; both of these circumstances would quite naturally tend to detract from Mr. Lincoln's usual clarity of expression, although the substance of the letter is what might be expected from him.

Passing over the assertion that the substance of the letter was Lincoln's, it may be stated that there is no evidence that Lincoln ever resorted to dictation, and his employment of a secretary up to his nomination in 1860 was doubtful on the ground of expense and rarity in that day, though Mr. Paul M. Angle, the best equipped judge on such a matter, tells me that he knows of one letter prior to that time, signed by Lincoln, with the body of the paper in another hand. It is that written to Delahay, May 14, 1859, and only the words

"M. W. Delahay Esq." and "Yours very truly," and the signature are in Lincoln's writing. Mr. Angle adds: "I know of no other L. S. written before the nomination." It might also reasonably be assumed that Lincoln writing to two men of such prominence in political life as Stephens and Crittenden and on so weighty a matter as then interested the country, would have exercised great care in the selection of his words and in the expression of his opinions. Caution was one of the outstanding qualities of Lincoln's character.

It fell to my lot some years ago to be asked to examine the Judd Stewart collection and appraise its value as a body of Lincoln material. Mr. Stewart gave me every facility and even left me alone with the books — which sometimes happens in the suspicious world of collecting. Among other pieces he showed me these Lincoln-Stephens letters, but I was too absorbed in making a general survey to be particularly impressed. I bought the collection and it was to follow me in a few days, when Stewart wrote that he wished to withdraw some of the manuscript material which, he said, had been promised to another. As it was not safe to take a collection from which some unspecified documents had been withdrawn, the negotiations were broken off. A few weeks later Stewart died and before long the collection was bought by the Henry E. Huntington Library. Through the courtesy of that Library I have had an opportunity to apply directly to the originals and check up such evidence as could be found.

It should be noticed that Stewart does not state where or from whom he obtained the papers. The certificate signed by Stephens was dated January 19, 1883; Stewart had "recently" secured the manuscripts in 1908. Much could happen to them in the interval and there is no way to trace their history before coming to Stewart. The certificate reads as follows:

STATE OF GEORGIA

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ATLANTA, GA. January 19th, 1883.

Colo. Henry Whitney Cleveland at your request I certify that the 7 sheets of legal cap paper dated Springfield, Illinois 19. January 1860, twenty three years ago, are the (dictated) letter of Abraham

State of Georgia,
Executive Department,

Atlanta, Ga. January 19th 1883.

Cols. Henry Whitney Cleveland at your request I certify, that the 7 sheets of legal cap paper dated Springfield, Illinois 19 January 1860, twenty three years ago, are the (dictated) letter of Abraham Lincoln to me on the political issues before the secession of the states and that the 16 sheets of Executive paper constitute my reply from Crawfordville, Ga., January 25. 1860, viz: an exact transcript of my pencil copy written in bed, which I retained. That I requested you not to include this correspondence nor my diary written when a prisoner in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, in 1865, in your "Life, Letters and Speeches" or Biography of myself, because I intended to treat the matter fully and fairly as I did in "The War between the States". Also that I did authorize the use in both books of the Springfield, Ills., A. L. of November 30. 1860, of my copy reply of Ga. 14 Dec^r 1860, of his rejoinder of Dec^r 22. 1860, and also of my longer sur-rejoinder of which you made printed and not fac simile copy. The originals are yours to use as thought best.

Faithfully Yours
Alexander H^d Stephens

HL3793

Lincoln to me on the political issues before the secession of the states and that the 16 sheets of Executive paper constitute my reply from Crawfordville, Ga., January 25, 1860, viz: an exact transcript of my pencil copy written in bed, which I retained. That I requested you not to include this correspondence nor my diary written when a prisoner in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, in 1865, in your "Life, Letters and Speaches" or Biography of myself, because I intended to treat the matter fully and fairly as I did in "The War between the States." Also that I did authorize the use in both books of the Springfield, Ills., A. L. of November 30. 1860, of my copy reply of Ga. 14 Decr. 1860, of his rejoinder of Decr. 22. 1860, and also of my longer sur-rejoinder of which you made printed and not *fac simile* copy. The originals are yours' to use as thought best.

Faithfully yours
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

In Henry Cleveland's *Alexander H. Stephens,* read and approved by Stephens and published in 1866, there are "in facsimile" two letters from Lincoln, November 30 and December 22, 1860, and one letter from Stephens, December 14, 1860.[1] They are not true facsimiles, but rather crude tracings for lithographing; yet, crude as they are, the characteristics of the handwriting have not been affected so far as to awaken doubt on the writing. Cleveland also gives in print Stephens' letter to Lincoln, December 30, 1860, in reply to that from Lincoln of December 22, 1860. These four documents may be accepted as genuine — authentic. In printing them Cleveland said that Stephens' speech of November 14, 1860, before the legislature of Georgia,

> gave rise to the correspondence between the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, President elect, and himself, which Mr. Stephens for the first time permits to be published. We are informed by Mr. Stephens, that no person had ever seen the letters of Mr. Lincoln to him until since his return from Fort Warren, in 1865, except his private secretaries. . . . The correspondence is now given, not only for its own intrinsic interest, but as throwing light on Mr. Stephens' views and positions at that time.[2]

When Stephens wrote his *Constitutional View of the War,* published in 1870, or nearly four years after Cleveland's book

[1] Cleveland, 150. [2] *Ib.*

had appeared, he speaks of a correspondence which took place between him and Mr. Lincoln after the latter's election, and he again prints "in facsimile," in rather a poorer form than that of Cleveland, the authentic Lincoln letters, adding: "Here, then, is the correspondence. . . . It was given to the public for the first time in Mr. Cleveland's book. . . . This is the whole of the correspondence the Professor [Norton, a fictitious name] inquired about."[3] No one had seen them save his secretaries, and he had spoken of the correspondence only to Hunter and Campbell, when on their way to the Hampton Roads conference. The passage of more than three years had not brought to Stephens' memory other letters between him and Lincoln. Yet he was compiling a work in which such papers as these doubtful letters would have been of greater moment than in Cleveland's volume.

Stephens was an able man and a keen politician when the interest of his State was involved. He had been a leading figure in and out of Washington for years and had undertaken to describe the causes of the catastrophe from the constitutional standpoint. How was it possible that he could have forgotten such an interchange of letters when he did remember one of about a year later but of less interest to his narrative? The mere finding of the four letters that are genuine would have recalled to his memory such another letter with one who had become President-elect at a time when the nation's safety, if not its existence, was at stake. It is inconceivable, unless we argue that his mind was giving way, of which there is no evidence, that he could have overlooked the letters or held doubts on the expediency of publishing them. The reminder he had of those weeks and months of uncertainty would have given him some suggestion that the correspondence was incomplete. But there is no intimation in 1870 of his having other letters of such a man as Lincoln, on a subject which then must have fully occupied Stephens' thought.

Of Henry Cleveland little is known. He speaks of "intimate terms of friendship" with Stephens for years and of his approach to Stephens on a biography. He must have been

[3] Stephens, *Constitutional View of the War*, II. 265, 270.

a rapid worker, for, on receiving Stephens' consent, "during the late summer (of 1866) he had free access to all his [Stephens'] papers, with no restriction upon their use, save in questions as to their present interest to the reader, or of propriety and good taste." Stephens read the work in proof and gave to it his approval in a letter dated November 10.[4] So Cleveland must have compiled his volume in about five months at the most, and the work is, consequently, unsatisfying from many points of view. It is true that Cleveland is described as "a writer of genius," and he appears to have had some service in the War of Secession, holding the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Captain, in that order, and was connected with the Ordnance Department — desk, not field service. In that connection, a colleague, Major Lachlan McIntosh, whose name bespeaks his origin, wrote: "It is but right for me to say that I fully appreciate Captain Cleveland's eccentricity, and deeply regret that there is not some other field open to that gentleman wherein to exercise his wondrous administrative abilities." [5] Such an opinion is not wholly damning to its object, for the immediate cause is not known.

Cleveland had been a journalist, connected with the *Constitutionalist* of Augusta, Georgia. In 1858 he was not the editor, for that position James Gardner held; in March, 1860, he had become editor and the *Constitutionalist* was one of three Georgia papers that supported Douglas and Johnson, to whom Stephens also gave his vote.

Southern journalism was not notable for its enterprise after the war and had the good excuse of a disorganized society which made it difficult to do much beyond supplying the most necessary wants. But one who had been a journalist before the war and who had taken an active share in the political events leading to the war, ought to have had enough of the news-sense to recognize the value of such a letter as is attributed to Lincoln under date January 19, 1860, when brought to his notice. As we have seen, Cleveland had been given free access to Stephens' papers and, in spite of con-

[4] Cleveland, 7–8. The work was registered by the publisher, J. R. Jones, Dec. 29, 1866, in the District Court of the U. S. in and for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

[5] Avery, *History of Georgia*, 229.

fused arrangement, the collection yielded three Lincoln letters, two of which were reproduced in facsimile, full proof of the estimation in which they were held by both Stephens and Cleveland. It would be simply astounding if Cleveland had found the two additional letters in dispute and had not printed them. If genuine they were of far more worth than nine-tenths of what appeared in the *Life*, and would be the strongest possible testimony of Stephens' position and relations with Lincoln. But Cleveland is as silent as Stephens on the possible existence of other Lincoln letters and not until Judd Stewart issued his tract did the two papers make a public appearance.

The *Life of Alexander H. Stephens*, by Richard Malcolm Johnston and William Hand Browne, was published in 1878. Stephens was still living, and aided in its preparation; the manuscript was "carefully read to me [Stephens] from beginning to end," and was pronounced by him to be "substantially correct." Since 1854 Johnston had been law partner of Linton Stephens, brother of Alexander H. Stephens, and in 1856 "the idea of preparing this biography was first conceived. From this time a correspondence was kept up with Mr. Stephens relating to the events of his life."[6] Johnston also had the advantage of reading Stephens' full letters to his brother, Linton Stephens, a number of which have since been printed under the capable direction of Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips.[7] Johnston and Browne used the genuine letters that had passed between Lincoln and Stephens, but gave no hint of other letters on either side of the correspondence. Twelve years had passed since Cleveland wrote and eight years since Stephens had published, time enough to have refreshed the memory, the more particularly because in each instance the Stephens papers were used. After three such independent resorts to the original manuscripts it is impossible that documents so important as Lincoln's letter and Stephens' reply should have escaped discovery. Any occurrence of the name of Lincoln would have been seized upon as important.

The Crittenden papers are in the Library of Congress.

[6] Johnston and Browne, 314.

[7] *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1911, II. No mention of the Lincoln-Stephens correspondence is found in the letters to Linton Stephens.

They do not show that any letters passed between Crittenden and Stephens or between Crittenden and Lincoln in 1859 and 1860, a silence difficult to explain if the two were engaged in "drawing" Lincoln, hardly yet so important a figure in politics as to make such a game profitable.

Finally, a word on the certificate and "copy" of Lincoln's "dictated" letter. The certificate was given to a man apparently unknown in Georgia. Henry Cleveland, journalist and a lieutenant colonel, a friend and the first biographer of Stephens, is known. Henry Whitney Cleveland is not of record and neither Mr. Harden of the Georgia Historical Society,[8] nor Miss Ruth Blair, State Historian, nor Mrs. Myrta Lockett Avary, editor of *Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens* (1910), has any knowledge of him.[9] Before entering upon my investigation I thought it was a play upon the name of Henry Clay Whitney, the author of two works of merit on Lincoln, but that would concede too great cleverness to the clumsy writer of the certificate. The certificate is dated January 19th, 1883, and is on paper with the official heading of the Executive Department of Georgia. Stephens was governor at that time and died in March, 1883, after an illness of some weeks. His last public appearance, Miss Blair tells me, was in Savannah, February 12, 1883. So he was able to be in his office three weeks earlier. The signature attached to the certificate did not appear to me to be Stephens', yet it was possible that as governor he altered his usual signature,

[8] In my correspondence with Mr. Harden he reminded me that he was the "Dean" of the service, as he became connected with the Georgia Historical Society in 1866, and Assistant Librarian in 1869.

[9] On the identity of either Cleveland Mrs. Avary has courteously made an effort to obtain some knowledge. "I made my first inquiry of Judge Alex. W. Stephens of our Court of Appeals, Mr. Stephens' great-nephew. . . . He told me he knew little about Cleveland; remarked 'Mr. Graham ought to know.' Mr. Graham of our Supreme Court, to my astonishment, could inform me no further than Judge Stephens; did not know if Cleveland left a son. He is, I think, the only living close associate of Mr. Stephens old enough to remember about matters of this kind. . . . I browsed in our State Library without result. . . . Cleveland was a preacher — of the Methodist Church, I think. I consulted my friend, Dr. Elam F. Dempsey, a prominent Methodist, a writer, connected with Emory University, delver into history, etc. Except that Cleveland wrote that history, nobody so far seems to know anything about him. I called up, among others, Judge Kontz, who knew Mr. Stephens." — Letter of May 13, 1928.

as is not uncommon with those coming into high office. Greater care, larger and better rounded letters, and a flourish or rubric, express the dignity of the office. A photostat of the signature was sent to Miss Blair, and she replied:

> The enclosed photostats do not show the writing of Alexander H. Stephens. The signature is quite different. I have compared it with a number of papers signed by Mr. Stephens during his term as governor and have shown it to Mr. John M. Graham, assistant reporter of our Supreme Court, who was at one time private secretary to Mr. Stephens, and to Judge Alexander W. Stephens, a nephew of Alexander H. and judge of the Court of Appeals of this State. Both men declare the signature a copy.

As the Lincoln letter of January 19, 1860, was admittedly a copy no detailed examination is necessary, but the clerkly writing was not identified by any of the officials of Georgia to whom Miss Blair showed it.

Mr. R. B. Haselden, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Henry E. Huntington Library, to whom I am indebted for photostats of the certificate and a page of the copy of the Lincoln letter, has discovered further evidence of importance, and of an even more direct character than that of internal evidence or omission on the part of Stephens and his biographers to use the suspected letters. Mr. Haselden writes:

> The first letter to arouse suspicion was from Stephens to Cleveland, dated Feb. 22, 1879, and refers to the proposed altered Confederate flag. The date of the watermark of the paper on which it is written is 1898. The manuscript is known as HM 3728.
>
> Two letters were purchased by the Library without my first having seen them:
>
> (1) A letter from Lincoln to Stephens, dated Nov. 30, 1860. It is endorsed on the back — "This letter appears in *fac Simile* in my Life Letters and Speeches of Alexr. H. Stephens and has been in my hands many years save when out twice in the hands of an engraver, Nat. Pub. Co. Phila. and Harper Bros. N. Y. 27 August 1896. Henry Whitney Cleveland, Stephens Biographer." This letter was not reproduced as stated above, but the original and genuine letter, which is also in our Library, was reproduced. The genuine letter is known as HL 2 and the forgery HL 1.
>
> (2) A letter of Ulysses S. Grant to James Longstreet dated

June 14, 1883. This letter I will transcribe: "New York City, June 14th, 1883. Dear Sir: — Your letter of the 14th of May, enclosed to me, in which you ask a few words from me expressing my estimate of the late Honorable Alexander H. Stephens — reached my office during my absence. In all his public utterances Mr. Stephens impressed me as a man who was never affraid [*sic*] to speak his honest convictions without regard to whether they would be popularly received or not. To the day of his death I retained the high estimate of his life and character formed before I knew him — increased by a personal acquaintance. Very Truly Yours. U. S. Grant. General James Longstreet, Atlanta, Ga." Compare this letter with the letter of Grant to the Rev. H. W. Cleveland reproduced in the *Magazine of American History,* Illustrated, edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, October, 1885. Our letter, which is known as HM 3537, is a forgery. Both these letters I consider were forged by the same hand and I am practically certain that the forger was Cleveland. I would not venture an opinion on the letter in the *Magazine of American History* without seeing the original, but I am suspicious of it.

I should mention that HL 1 and HL 2 are exactly alike as to spacing, including the word "the" inserted above the line. The shape and the size of the paper, however, is different.

You will now see the reason why I immediately suspect any letter or document of Lincoln that is in any way connected with Stephens and any letter of Stephens that is in any way connected with Lincoln. I think all such documents should be carefully examined.

The Lincoln letter and the Stephens' certificate you already know about. On palæographical grounds I have ascribed all these forgeries to Cleveland and I think you will agree with me that all the circumstances point to him.

Mr. Haselden has in this letter directed attention to a contribution from Cleveland to the *Magazine of American History.* The article is entitled "General Grant's Military Abilities" and is by "a Confederate Officer." The signature of Cleveland is reproduced in facsimile at the end of the article, and and there are six pages of a reproduction of an alleged letter from Grant to Rev. H. W. Cleveland, clearly a forgery, and a clumsy one at that. Further, Cleveland commits the gross error of manufacturing two letters from Grant, of the same date and on the same subject, but of impossible

connection. In the brief letter to Longstreet, quoted by Mr. Haselden, he makes the question about Stephens come from Longstreet, with no word on Cleveland. In the letter to Cleveland the question comes from Cleveland. Both Longstreet and Cleveland wrote on the same day — possible, as both are placed in Atlanta on the day of writing. Yet the two pieces cannot be made to harmonize — if it is necessary, indeed, to go beyond the facsimile, so evidently *not* a Grant letter.

In the contents of the *Magazine* the article is attributed to " Rev. Henry Whitney Cleveland, late Colonel C. S. A." No mention of a H. W. Cleveland is to be found in the *War Records*. Mrs. Avary noted that a Cleveland was a preacher, and the *Magazine* points to Henry Whitney Cleveland. Unfortunately further evidence is wanting, but enough is known to cast doubt on the conduct of Cleveland as a source of historical material.

It is safe to stamp the alleged Lincoln letter of January 19, 1860, as a forgery, and the same conclusion applies to the letter of Lincoln to Crittenden, December 22, 1859, and to the draft of Stephens' reply, January 25, 1860, both of which were covered by the certificate of Henry Whitney Cleveland.

MEMOIR

OF

ARTHUR LORD

BY WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN

ARTHUR LORD, Litt.D., LL.D., President of this Society, died in office on April 11, 1925. He came of pure English stock, though not of Pilgrim blood, as might have been supposed from his lifelong interest in Plymouth and the Pilgrim Fathers.

Nathan Lord, his paternal ancestor, came from the County of Kent to Kittery, Maine, about 1640, and in the same year his maternal ancestor, Francis Kendall, came from somewhere in England to Charlestown village, Massachusetts. For several generations both Lords and Kendalls were pioneer farmers, hard-working, solid people, making good marriages, intent only on improving their physical well-being. In later generations, however, they became actively interested in the higher things of life and began to produce eminent men.

John Lord, the fifth in line from Nathan, married Mehitable Perkins of Wells, Maine, became a Brigadier General in the Militia, and set up a fund in Berwick Academy for the distribution of Bibles. General John Lord sent one son, John Perkins Lord, to Harvard College, whence he graduated in the Class of 1805, and another son, Nathan Lord, to Bowdoin College, where he graduated in the Class of 1809. This Nathan afterwards went to the Andover Theological School, became a minister, and subsequently had a long and distinguished career from 1828 to 1863 as President of Dartmouth College. John Perkins Lord, after leaving Harvard College, went to sea for a while, after the fashion of the day, as a supercargo. He then married Sophia Ladd, settled down

in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and long held a position in the Portsmouth Custom House.

William Henry Lord, son of John Perkins and Sophia (Ladd) Lord, and the father of Arthur Lord, was born at Portsmouth, on September 10, 1812. He went to Dartmouth College, of which his Uncle Nathan had become the President, and, after graduating in the Class of 1832, followed his uncle's example both in going to Andover and in entering the ministry. His first call was from the old First Parish in Southborough, Massachusetts, "to become their Gospel Minister," with the offer of a salary of six hundred dollars a year. He accepted the call, was ordained and settled over the parish on October 31, 1838. Even this meagre offer was not made good; for at a parish meeting, held on March 6, 1839, it was "voted to grant" but four hundred dollars towards "such salary," with a promise of discounts on early payments and a threat of committing over-due assessments "to an officer for collection." During the Southborough pastorate, he married at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on January 1, 1840, Persis Kendall, daughter of the Rev. James Kendall, D.D., the beloved pastor of the First Parish in that town. Parson Kendall, as he was locally and affectionately known, was the sixth in line from Francis Kendall. He was born in Sterling, Massachusetts, in 1769, graduated from Harvard College in 1796 and stayed on at Cambridge as a Tutor in Latin until 1800. He was then settled over the Pilgrim Church in Plymouth where he remained as minister for nearly sixty years, 1800–1859, one of the longest among the long pastorates of New England.

The Rev. William Henry Lord took his bride to Southborough where he continued his ministry, despite its ineffective attempts to pay him the salary agreed upon, until November 7, 1842. Then he resigned and went to the western frontiers. After supplying briefly, while on his way westward, a pulpit in Syracuse, New York, he became the settled minister of the First Unitarian Church in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He occupied this pastorate on the fringe of civilization during the years 1846 and 1847, when he gave up the struggle and definitely withdrew from the ministry. He next drifted to Port Washington, Wisconsin, where he engaged

in newspaper work. In this obscure village on Lake Michigan, a few miles north of Milwaukee, Arthur Lord was born on September 2, 1850. When Millard Fillmore became President, William Henry Lord, in the distribution of the spoils, was appointed Consular Agent at St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies. When he set out for his new post of duty Mrs. Lord, who had already lost three boys, William, Frank and Ernest, in early childhood, returned to her father's house in Plymouth, taking with her Arthur and a younger brother, Eliot, and to help support her little family, opened a Dame School in the village. Her husband, upon the accession of President Pierce, though New Hampshire born and a Dartmouth man, was displaced. He afterwards became a treasury official in Washington, where he died in 1866.

Arthur Lord was baptized by his grandfather Kendall in the First Parish Meeting House on June 13, 1852, and on that day, it may be said, he became identified with the life, affairs and traditions of the town of Plymouth, an association which lasted until his death. He attended the public schools of the town, and in due course was fitted for Harvard College in the Classical Department of the Plymouth High School. During his final school year this department, happily for him, was under the direction of an unusual teacher and scholar. This preceptor was Joseph Sanborn, the brother of Frank Sanborn, who, upon graduating at Cambridge in the class of 1867, was declared by Professor William W. Goodwin to be "the best Greek scholar ever turned out at Harvard College," and who began a life career of successful teaching at the Plymouth High School. This association with Sanborn evidently was of great advantage to Arthur, for when he went up to Cambridge he not only passed his entrance examinations with success and was matriculated with the Class of 1872, but he gained the enviable and profitable post, to a poor student, of "Parietal Freshman." He was the last but one, owing to administrative changes in the College, to hold that coveted position. The disciplinary oversight of the undergraduate body of that day was lodged in a "Parietal Committee," made up of the Registrar and of Tutors and Proctors, all of whom lived within the College walls. Elbridge G. Cutler, Professor of Modern Languages, was Registrar

when young Lord entered Harvard College, and as such was Chairman of the Parietal Committee, a part of whose duty it was to deal with infractions of college discipline and decorum. Professor Cutler had in his gift the appointment of a "Parietal Freshman," who served upon student offenders the admonitory notices of the Committee and whose stipend, besides the use of a desirable but unfurnished room in the College Yard, included a sum of money that might amount to $125 a year. The Parietal Freshman who could induce a fellow freshman of means to furnish the room and become his room-mate might consider himself, if frugal and studious, as well on the way towards paying his college expenses and attaining college distinction. Young Lord did not lack for shrewdness, and was an evenly good, if not a brilliant, student. He won a *detur* in his sophomore year, and was graduated with the Class of 1872 with the degree of A.B. *cum laude*. In his college work he had attained distinction in philosophy, a distinction which remained his through life as evidenced by an even mind and philosophic outlook. The Cambridge of that day did not afford many diversions, but one such, if it may be called so, was young Lord's habit of spending a week-end now and then at Concord with Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was a friend of his Grandfather Kendall. He confirmed the report that the Sage of Concord always had pie on his breakfast table.

After his graduation, having decided upon the law as a profession, young Lord, practical then as through life, instead of going to the Harvard Law School, and perhaps prevented by lack of funds, entered, as a student, the office of Abbot, Jones and Lathrop, a firm of Boston lawyers. Abbot was an astute lawyer with a flair for business which led later to railroad promotion in the Middle West, to the making of a large fortune and to a name and fame as one of the leading railroad builders in the country. Jones, of more scholarly bent, wrote a leading treatise on the Law of Mortgages, and later when the Torrens System of Registering Titles to Real Estate was adopted in Massachusetts, became the first Judge of the newly-created Land Court. Lathrop, a sound, though unimaginative lawyer, was a veteran of the Civil War, with a fine record, became an excellent Reporter of Decisions and

subsequently a useful judge on the Superior Bench where he earned promotion to that of the Supreme Judicial Court. In this office of diversified talents Lord laid the foundations of an adequate knowledge of the law as well as gained first-hand experience in dealing with the practical questions arising in everyday practice. With the experience thus gained and the acquaintanceship formed he might well have settled in Boston with a fair assurance of success as years afterward he opened an office there, but an event occurred which, happily for that town, led him to make Plymouth his home. In April, 1874, he was appointed a trial justice for Plymouth County, whereupon he resumed his residence there and, entering upon the duties of that office, he held court for a brief six months in the village until the First District Court of Eastern Plymouth was established in September, 1874. At the May Term, 1874, of the Supreme Judicial Court held at Plymouth, Squire Lord was admitted to the Bar, " hung out his shingle " and opened an office in the village for the general practice of the law in matters beyond his jurisdiction, or in which he had taken no part, as a Magistrate.

Thenceforward Arthur Lord entered upon a lifetime of threefold activity in the historic town of Plymouth, the administration as well as the practice of the law, effective participation in town affairs, and the making of Plymouth an adequate memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers.

John Pory's " Lost Description of Plymouth Colony in the Earliest Days of the Pilgrim Fathers," recently found and published, gives a striking picture of the newly-made settlement in 1622, when the country was still in a state of nature, as contrasted with the forlorn village to which Arthur Lord came back, and the present prosperous and renovated Plymouth which he left behind when he died. Pory, who was a Virginian adventurer, and a friend of Governor Bradford, visited the infant colony during the second year of its existence, while on his way to England. He writes of the little settlement on the hillside overlooking the landlocked harbor as an earthly paradise, so pleasing " for aire and prospect, so wholesome and so healthful," a healthfulness " accompanied with much plenty both of fish and fowle everie day in the yeare, as I know, no place in the world can match it; " more-

over the harbor is "such a pond for fowle, as in any man's knowledge of our nation that hath seene it. All America hath not the like," besides "they have plenty of deere and of turkies so large and as fat as in anie other place;" and further "as concerning the qualitie of the people, how happy were it for our people in the Southern Colonie, if they were as free from wickedness and vice as these are in this place." And more to the same effect.

When Arthur Lord came to Plymouth in 1874 to make it his home for life, the "qualitie of the people" had not sensibly deteriorated; they were as "free from wickedness and vice," as perhaps the general run of the Pilgrim Company at the time of John Pory's visit; the Pilgrim Spirit was not dead, but was plainly flickering. This period was about equally removed in time from the quickening of that spirit at the celebration in 1820 of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the memorable settlement, and the oncoming Tercentenary still nearly fifty years away. The foreshore of the landlocked harbor was the site of a transplanted Plymouth Rock with its ugly canopy, containing the bones of Pilgrim dead, while the surroundings were marred and cheapened by decaying wharves and tumble-down buildings. The other landmark, Burial Hill, which shared with Plymouth Rock the reverent regard of pious villagers and occasional visitors alike, its borders encroached upon by mean and unsightly structures, bore the marks of neglect and want of care. The village was hardly more than a meeting place for country litigants at the occasional sittings of the courts and a market town for the farmers, scattered between the sea and the thin-soiled Plymouth woods which remained, and still remain, with their numerous ponds, their scrub oaks and scattering pines, much as the Pilgrims saw them. The off-shore fishing fleet, once numerous and prosperous, had disappeared, the West India trade had dwindled, the coastwise traffic was limited to supplying the village and surrounding country with coal and lumber, and its foreign commerce to infrequent cargoes of hemp for the one growing and flourishing industry of the town "out North," the Plymouth Cordage Company. The cranberry bog, bringing seasonal prosperity, had just begun to displace the back-country swamps, drained by the brooks

flowing into the ponds and the sea. The summer visitors had not begun to occupy and improve the sand hills overlooking the sea to the South of the village. With its sandy roads and infrequent and leisurely railroad trains, Plymouth was sidetracked from the outside world; it was halfway between the nascent days of its first visitor, John Pory, and its present-day prosperity, due to good roads and the automobile and to its industrial development.

Into this New England backwater came this young Harvard graduate, fresh from a busy law office, stimulated by two years of city contacts. With fresh patience, quiet persistence and ever-growing interest in the law, town affairs and the historic background of the community, he began the shaping of his own fortunes and the re-shaping and revitalizing the outward aspects of the stagnant village.

Soon after his admission to the Bar, Mr. Lord was taken into partnership by Albert Mason, a sound and sober-minded lawyer of Plymouth, his senior in years and experience, and they associated with themselves, as a junior partner, Benjamin R. Curtis, Jr., a promising son of Mr. Justice Benjamin R. Curtis of the United States Supreme Court. The firm was successful, and came to an end only with the elevation of Mr. Mason to the Bench of the Superior Court, of which he subsequently became the highly respected and universally honored Chief Justice. Thenceforward Mr. Lord practised law alone, while participating actively in town affairs.

First and last Mr. Lord was called upon to fill every town office of importance, and in each he advanced the well-being of the community. He became one of the Board of Managers of the Public Library; he served as Chairman of the Board of Health and did much in that capacity to improve the hygienic conditions of the village; he was chosen frequently Chairman of the Board of Selectmen; and from 1890 to 1900, and again from 1921 to 1925 he presided over town meetings as Moderator. A discriminating judge of character, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, long closely associated with Mr. Lord, sums up succinctly this phase of his career as a townsman:

In directing the course of town meetings, where by long experience, judicious reserve, united with carefully prepared plans and assured support, he always exerted a strong and personal influence, and a control that was conceded from a recognition of his fairness, his patience under debate and his wise endeavor to turn merely destructive criticism into constructive plans were notable. He saw the town develop from an agricultural into an industrial community and its budget grow from one of modest needs to the more exacting and extravagant cost of city functions. He studied the town meeting as an institution, conscious that whatever it had been in the past, its methods must be changed to meet modern conditions. In 1901 he favored a Town Committee appointed by the Moderator of the town meeting, and a Board of Public Works with a Town Engineer, to correct the already unsatisfactory method of caring for the highways, on which so much of the prosperity of the community depended. His suggestion favored efficient and economical management as against an elaborate and costly bureau or department. In 1918 he saw in the " representative " town meeting, a pure experiment at the time, an institution which would preserve the best features of the old and provide better for the inevitable changes and growth of the future. Yet his caution did not permit him readily to accept the new plan in all its features.

Almost as a matter of course in 1885, and again in 1886, Mr. Lord was sent to the General Court to represent Plymouth in the Lower House. His revision of Smith's *Probate Law* which came out that year in a fifth edition, led to his service on the Committee on Probate and Insolvency as well as that on the Election Laws. During his second year he acted as Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. He was a candidate for re-election but, refusing to take orders from the labor leaders, he was defeated. He thus served but two terms, but the impression made by him was such as to lead to his selection for further public work, alike important to the Commonwealth and the profession. In the vacation following the adjournment of the Legislature of 1885, he served as Chairman of a Committee on the Revision of the Judiciary System of the State, a duty for which his experience, as a trial magistrate, an attorney with a varied practice and a seasoned legislator, peculiarly fitted him. At this period he opened an office in Boston, and henceforth spent a large part of his time there as well as in New York, but continued his residence

and spent his week-ends in Plymouth, thus building up a solid metropolitan practice, while retaining unimpaired his interest in that town and the best of his clientage there.

As already intimated he early adopted the policy, with resulting economy in time and expense, of settling cases out of court instead of trying them, though none more competent to do so. Arthur P. Hardy, a long-time office associate during Mr. Lord's later years in Boston, said that he was recognized at the Bar "as an extremely able trial lawyer," though he seldom appeared in Court, among other reasons because "his advice was sought and relied upon by clients having large interests, who desired rather to avoid than to engage in litigation." The Honorable Winslow Warren, a distinguished son of Plymouth, who knew Mr. Lord from boyhood, in the course of an appreciative discourse, spoke of him in the same vein as follows: —

> He did not appear in Court very often, but devoted himself to commercial and corporation law and the law of contracts. He had been a close student, was well grounded in the basic principles of the law, his judgment was sound and accurate and he possessed a great faculty for dealing with men. He attained a high rank at the bar and was a reliable and wise counsellor. His intellectual perceptions were quick and his application of law principles to the facts of a case was sound and thorough. While not a brilliant advocate his style was clear and forcible and his manner convincing.

After his brief experience in the State Legislature, Mr. Lord might have entered the arena of National politics and spent the rest of his life in Washington. But he steadily refused invitations to engage in further political activity and even declined congenial work on the Federal Bench. Thus only could he devote himself at once to his profession, to the study of Pilgrim History and to the renovation of the Pilgrim village into a worthy Pilgrim Memorial. Pending the upbuilding of a Boston practice he did the cause of Civil Service Reform a good turn in supervising the installation, in Massachusetts, of a Merit System in filling clerical positions in the public service. In 1888 he was appointed to the non-partisan position of Chairman of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission, and served in that capacity by re-appointment by

successive governors, representing both parties, until 1899, when, the initial foundations of the System being securely laid, he resigned. Civil service reform in this country was in its infancy when Mr. Lord engaged in this introductory work, but through the years of routine work in the Commission and his reports as Chairman, he not only aided in strengthening and enlarging the scope of the Reform in Massachusetts, but made of the Commission and its work, as organized by him, a model for the rest of the country to follow.

In 1917 Mr. Lord received the crowning honor of his legal career when he was chosen President of the Massachusetts Bar Association. His presidential address was timely and noteworthy in dealing with a topic of pressing importance, which from his experience as a town officer, he was peculiarly well fitted to discuss. His subject was " The Representative Town Meeting in Massachusetts." In this address he advocated briefly and convincingly the substitution in large towns, where the ancient town meeting had ceased to function successfully, by reason of the increase of voters and the inadequacy of meeting-places, of a modified system whereby representatives, elected by districts, should select the town officers and do generally the work of the whole body of voters. This plan has now been tried with success in several towns and has proved simpler and less expensive than resort to a city form of government with its temptation to graft and extravagance.

With his baptism in 1852 in the First Parish Church, Arthur Lord became imbued with the Pilgrim Spirit and with a love and curiosity for everything pertaining to the Pilgrim Fathers, which grew with the years and came to be well-nigh his chief interest in life. He studied the Separatist Movement in England and in Holland and collected into a unique library everything printed, so far as obtainable, relating to that Movement and to the Founders of Plymouth. That library has now passed into the permanent possession of the Pilgrim Society. His Colver Lectures, delivered at Brown University in 1920, forming, as they do, a condensed account of the Pilgrim struggle here and overseas, contain the best short review of the Pilgrim Movement and its world-wide influence upon

mankind. He early joined the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, which, together with the New England Societies in various cities, had in some sort kept alive the interest in the Pilgrim heritage through an annual meeting and through a collection of relics of the early settlers, pitiful though priceless, and kept in a building neither fire-proof nor imposing. About 1878 Mr. Lord became a Trustee of the Society and, after the death of the Honorable John D. Long, he was elected its President and served the Society as such for the rest of his life. Thereupon the Society took on a new life through his increasing efforts to strengthen it and make it the vehicle for focussing the interest of State and Nation upon Plymouth.

The first step taken by Arthur Lord, while still a young lawyer, towards making Plymouth in outward aspect more worthy of its history, led to far-reaching results. As already noted, the sacred limits of Burial Hill had been encroached upon as well as fringed with cheap, if not unsightly, structures. The town itself had built at the top of Town Square, beside the frame meetinghouse of Parson Kendall's day, a fire-engine house and a schoolhouse, both of which cut into the hillside, and one of which, at least, was dilapidated. A vote was passed in town meeting to tear down both buildings and to replace them with a new and enlarged fire-engine house, still further encroaching upon and making impossible a proper and dignified approach to Burial Hill. Young Lord thereupon performed his first notable service to the town, at once evidencing his astuteness as a lawyer and his mettle as a man and townsman. Having gained the assent of the Attorney General, an information was filed in the name of the people and an injunction issued, to prevent the town from carrying out its vote. Pending the hearing on the merits of the case, Mr. Lord showed his native shrewdness by persuading the firemen and their friends that a firehouse on Main Street, as keeping the firemen more in touch with village life and gossip, would be much more to their liking. Whereupon, at a later town meeting the obnoxious vote was rescinded, the objectionable buildings razed, the new firehouse built on Main Street, and Burial Hill freed from encroachments and a dignified entrance from Town Square afforded. This first step towards making the ancient village sightly, as well as guarding the historic spots, had a

far reaching effect. John Stickney, a Baltimore merchant, upon a subsequent visit to Plymouth, noted the improvement in appearance, and upon his return home created, by will, the Stickney Fund of $100,000, the income to be used for further beautifying the historic places of the town. The will was contested, but Mr. Lord argued the case so ably in the Maryland Courts as to secure a decision sustaining the will and to add greatly to his prestige as a lawyer. Burial Hill, from that time on, has received proper care and, by additions to its borders through the purchase and removal of unsightly buildings, has become a consecrated resting-place for the Pilgrim dead and their immediate descendants and a reverential resort for the American people.

The old frame meeting-house of the First Parish in Plymouth, standing on the hill-side at the top of Town Syuare, and beside the entrance to Burial Hill, which was dedicated on December 14, 1831, was burned on November 22, 1892. Largely through Mr. Lord's exertions a dignified and enduring structure of granite, reminiscent of Scrooby Church, now stands on the same site. When Laymen's Sunday was observed by the Unitarians throughout the land in October, 1924, it was appropriate that Mr. Lord should conduct the exercises in the new church. He read a sermon, preached by the Master of the Temple at a special service held in the Temple Church for the American lawyers visiting London during the summer preceding, in which the Reverend Master had feelingly alluded to the Pilgrim Fathers. Mr. Lord had attended this service and had secured a copy of the sermon for the Pilgrim Church.

As the Plymouth Tercentenary of 1920 approached Mr. Lord, with wise forethought, laid his plans for the celebration of that important event. He secured the appointment of a State Commission, of which he became a member, to prepare and carry out an adequate programme. Appropriations, in the securing of which he was the moving spirit, were made by Congress, by the General Court, and by the Town of Plymouth, to finance sundry improvements and to pay for a dignified and seemly ceremonial. A pageant depicting the Pilgrim Story, staged upon the shore-front of the village, drew thousands to successive and brilliant performances.

The New England Societies of New York and Brooklyn, the Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Colonial Dames, the Improved Order of Redmen, among other organizations, sought his advice and acted upon his wise counsel in making appropriate gifts of remembrance. A seaside park was created out of the neglected foreshore; Plymouth Rock was placed again within reach of the flowing tides; the Pilgrim bones, aforetime encased above it, were transferred to an imposing sarcophagus placed on the little eminence behind the Rock and overlooking park and harbor; while Dallin's noble statue of Massasoit was placed beside it as if to guard the remains of those he had welcomed to these shores and succoured during life. A chime of bells was placed in the tower of the new First Church; a monumental canopy was erected over Plymouth Rock; while a granite front for Pilgrim Hall, with stately columns and dignified entablature at once secured its precious contents and made it presentable. The British Government, with unexampled generosity, sent over from Woolwich Arsenal a brace of culverins of the early 17th century, said to be the only specimens surviving that era, which were placed on Burial Hill, to symbolize the fort there formerly situate, which dominated sea and land in those early days of terror and peril. A model of the *Mayflower,* made by Mr. R. C. Anderson of Basset Holt, Southampton, England, an authority on marine architecture, was secured by Mr. Lord and now stands in Pilgrim Hall. The model reveals the cramped and confined quarters within the hull, occupied by the little company, as well as the outward semblance of sail and equipment, to the curious visitor. Thus in many ways was this great son of Plymouth instrumental in making his adopted town a more fitting memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers.

Mr. Lord's services to the Massachusetts Historical Society alone would have entitled him, aside from the appreciation of his fellow members, to the gratitude of all students of colonial history. To recall his helpful activities, as member and officer, is well-nigh to set forth the life of the Society throughout his long and varied experience. He was elected a Resident Member on February 9, 1882 (as a representative of the Old Colony), in his thirty-second year, and thenceforward, during

his long membership of forty-three years he served the Society on the Council, on various Committees, or as its Treasurer, or as a presiding officer. He was the only member of the Society who had ever filled in succession the four highest offices in its gift, those of Treasurer, the two Vice-Presidents and President. He was elected Treasurer at the April meeting, 1907, and rendered his most signal service to the Society in that capacity. When he took on the duties and responsibilities of that office the Society's funds amounted to no more than $450,000, yielding an income of $24,000, while at his retirement from that position of trust they had grown to upwards of $600,000, producing an income of $33,000. He was greatly aided in reaching these results by the co-operation of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, during the latter's notable service as President. Mr. Adams guaranteed in writing many investments recommended by him, which otherwise perhaps Mr. Lord would not have been justified in making. The result was highly favorable to the treasury, and did not involve great risk on Mr. Adams' part. He was called upon to make good on his guaranty but once out of fifty such investments. When Mr. Lord retired from the office of Treasurer at the April meeting of 1921,[1] Mr. James Ford Rhodes, in commenting on these results, said: "no analysis of details can add to the impressiveness of totals thus brought into comparison. The Society has been favored in its agents."

Mr. Lord did his full share in the literary work of the Society as well as on its administrative side. He prepared memoirs of Williams Latham and of John D. Long; he paid tributes to the memory of Charles P. Bowditch and of Charles Francis Adams; he made fitting remarks on the close of the fifty years of membership in the Society of Charles Card Smith, who had preceded him as Treasurer. He was on the Committee to publish the records of the Old Colony Club in October, 1887, and notably on that to prepare the recent edition of Bradford's *History of Plymouth*. He submitted papers on the continuation of publishing the Province Laws; on the Plymouth Patent and its seals of 1621; on Slavery in Plymouth in 1729; on the Trumbull portrait in Pilgrim Hall; on the sale of Matchebiguatus on the Penobscot; on Alexan-

[1] *Proceedings*, LIV. 265.

der Scammell; and on General John Thomas. He served also on the Publication Committee of several volumes of collections.

Mr. Lord was an active member of various other learned societies besides this society to which he owed and yielded chief allegiance. He was a clubbable man, which led to his membership in many clubs as well as literary organizations. His sympathies touched life at many points. Among learned societies he was a prominent member of the American Antiquarian Society, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and of the Old Colony Historical Society; he was also a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Aside from his office and the Courts, he keenly enjoyed the companionship of his legal brethren at the meetings of the Curtis Club, made up of leading members of the Bench and Bar, and named after the distinguished father of his one-time junior partner. He was equally at home in that club of collectors and dilettanti, known as the Club of Odd Volumes, of which he was at one time the President. His monographs and addresses on the Pilgrim Story and kindred topics were models of lucid narrative and accurate statement culled from original sources. Brown University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters in recognition of his literary attainments. He was a sound lawyer and a wise legislator, and in these capacities he was helpful to clients, courts, and the community. Dartmouth College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in recognition of his standing in the legal profession. In person he was sturdy, in temperament he was conservative, reflecting his English blood, in manner he was retiring and in speech reticent. Yet he possessed a delicious fund of humor and an aptness at repartee which made him, when he relaxed, the life of any gathering at which he was present. He had a fine presence and a noble voice and was never so happy as in the many brief addresses made in accepting gifts to Plymouth, in welcoming visitors to that historic village or in emphasizing the life and traditions and influence of its Founders.

In the simple, but dignified dwelling on North Street, in which he lived, he dispensed to friends and visitors a charming hospitality. In his home and family life he was singularly

fortunate. He married, on October 2, 1878, Sarah Shippen, who survives him, the daughter of the Reverend Rush R. Shippen, a distinguished Unitarian Minister, and Zoe (Rodman) Shippen. They had six children, Katharine, Henry Shippen, Margaret Cheney, Frances, Elizabeth, and John Hayes, all of whom survive him, and all of whom have attained distinction in their respective walks in life.

No more fitting and eloquent summary of the life and influence of this single-hearted public servant has been pronounced than that of the Rev. Alfred R. Hussey, his friend, pastor, and minister of the Pilgrim Church, in an address made in June, 1926, to the graduating class of the Plymouth High School:

> Arthur Lord was a successful lawyer, a scholar, a gifted public speaker. He was a good husband and devoted father. But, above everything else, he was a loyal citizen, a faithful churchman, a mighty influence for good in the life of our ancient town. He shrank from public recognition. He was content that cheaper and more selfish men should hold the offices. He preferred to remain in the background, working, not for himself, but for the future in town affairs. With rare foresight and self-denial he labored in behalf of the better Plymouth that is to be. Caring little for what people said about him, anxious only that the right should be done, that the truth should be spoken, instead of accumulating wealth, he found his highest joy in serving the common good. In its three centuries of existence Plymouth has had no more efficient public servant, no greater individual benefactor than he. Since he died, no public gathering has been held in his honor. No statue or tablet has been erected to commemorate his services. We took what he gave with scant acknowledgement of what we owed him. Altogether fitting was it that when his funeral issued from yonder doors, our streets were all abloom with flags, albeit at half-staff, as for a faithful soldier welcomed home. Here was a man, 'whose conscience was his strong retreat.'
>
> Untied unto the world by care
> Of prince's ear, or vulgar breath.

Large-minded, clear-sighted, public-spirited, he lived a life of growing usefulness; and, dying, left behind him the memory of one who was actually a pillar in the Temple of the Better Life.

JUNE MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 14, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the monthly meeting in May was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Frances R. Morse, family papers of Rev. Ebenezer and Dr. Eliakim Morse, of Watertown and Boston, including those relating to the ship *Galen*, 1795–1851, and the French spoliation claims for its loss in 1798; several volumes of their account books, 1784–1845; and their account with the Distill House, 1807–1811; also Samuel Hunt's book of accounts, 1722–1744; William Hunt's Book of Precedents, law forms, and notes of cases tried before him as a Justice of the Peace, 1781–1787; Charles Hunt's orderly book, 1800; two volumes of accounts kept by Lowder and Rogers, 1806–1812; some records of the Proprietors of Newfane, Vermont, 1760, 1761; and a record of an ecclesiastical council held at Concord, Mass., June 23, 1772.

From Mrs. Francis C. Barlow (Ellen Shaw), of New York, through her son, Robert Shaw Barlow, of Boston, three letters of Gov. John A. Andrew relating to the appointment of her brother, Robert Gould Shaw, as colonel of the 54th Regiment of colored troops; Jan. 30, 1863, offering him the position; Feb. 7, his letter of appointment; and Feb. 9, giving information of the fact to the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton.

From Mrs. Roderick Stebbins, of Milton, family papers of the Stebbins family, 1674–1917, some relating to the early home in Wilbraham, and others to a later service in the militia.

From Francis R. Hart, a photostat copy of a record made by Deacon Edward Pierce, of Dorchester, one of the jurors at the trial of British soldiers after the Boston Massacre. The original is owned by William Edmunds, Vice-President of the Old Colony Trust Company, whose wife is a great-great-granddaughter of Mr. Pierce.

By purchase, a "Map of the Town and Harbour of Boston Drawn by a Captain in His Majesty's Navy," published in London, February 7, 1776.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Estate of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, through Mrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, the Badge of the Order of the Rising Sun, third class, conferred on Dr. Bigelow by the Emperor of Japan, Nov. 22, 1909, with the diploma, its translation into French, and accompanying papers.

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, thirty-six coins and medals.

From Samuel Henshaw, of Cambridge, a ticket to the "U. S. Senate Impeachment of the President," April 17, 1868; and another of May 4, 1868, from Mrs. Roderick Stebbins, of Milton.

From Arthur B. Onthank, a portrait, by his father, the late Nahum B. Onthank, of John Quincy Adams, a copy of Stuart's portrait of him.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the medal of the Victory Liberty Loan.

From Delano Wright, a half-dollar of 1926, the Oregon Trail Memorial.

From Charles F. Read, the medal commemorating the Transatlantic Flight, April 12, 13, 1928, of Baron von Huenefeld, Captain Koehl, and Major Fitzmaurice.

Charles Grenfill Washburn

The President announced the death at Lenox, on May 25, of Charles Grenfill Washburn, a Resident Member, and Mr. Cunningham read a tribute prepared by Chief Justice Rugg, as follows:

A man of abounding strength and unceasing activity has fallen suddenly. Three score and eleven years had not slackened his industry nor cooled his ardor for high endeavor. Charles Grenfill Washburn passed from our vision on May 25, 1928, at Lenox, Massachusetts, where he had gone to attend the annual diocesan convention. He was always a resident of Worcester. There he was born on January 28, 1857, the son of Charles Francis and Mary E. (Whiton) Washburn. He belonged to the famous family founded in this country by John Washburn, who came in 1632, and among whose descendants have been statesmen, governors, diplomats, scholars, inventors, leaders in manufacturing, masters in business. It would not be easy to name New England families which have contributed

a larger number of men eminent in so broad a range of achievements. Mr. Washburn attended the public schools and graduated in the Class of 1875 at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. Later he was a member of its governing board for more than a third of a century, and its president for a good part of that period. That institution conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering in 1926. He graduated at Harvard with the Class of 1880. He was married on April 25, 1889, to Caroline Vinton Slater, a descendant of forbears notable in several generations in the manufacture of textiles. A son and a daughter, four brothers and a sister, as well as his widow and mother, survive him. His filial devotion merited the reward of the only one of the Ten Commandments with a promise. In all family associations he bore himself from the beginning to the end without ceasing in accordance with the loftiest ideals of excellence.

He was admitted to the bar of this Commonwealth on February 2, 1887, and to that of the Supreme Court of the United States on March 20, 1894. So far as he engaged in practice, it was confined to patent law; but his professional training was a part of the equipment which rendered him exceptionally useful in citizenship, business and statecraft.

Immediately upon leaving college he engaged in business. In 1880 he established a branch of wire manufacture, which has grown from small beginnings to large proportions, with which he always remained connected in some responsible capacity and which in recent years has borne his family surname under the management of a brother. In 1882 he became treasurer and manager of a different corporation manufacturing another kind of wire product. This subsequently was sold to the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, and with the active direction of the affairs of the latter he was associated until 1891. Later for several years as trustee he was charged with heavy burdens in the management of the extensive manufacturing industries and other properties of the Horatio N. Slater estate. He was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and of important public service corporations.

The people of his neighborhood and vicinity availed themselves freely of his aptitude for politics. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1897–1898,

and of the Massachusetts Senate in 1899–1900. Chosen in 1906 to succeed Rockwood Hoar in the fifty-ninth Congress, he continued to serve in the sixtieth and sixty-first Congress. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1917–1918. In all these bodies he held committee positions of responsibility, and was as thoroughly faithful in the discharge of duties unknown to the general public as of those conspicuous in popular appeal. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1904 and 1916. Legislative experience developed in him capacity for constructive statesmanship. He was a careful student of every public question with which he was called upon to deal. His tastes led him to thorough investigation both of the historical and practical aspects of governmental problems. His unusual training and experience in engineering, scholarship, law and business, in many branches, combined with exceptional gifts of intellect, enabled him to examine proposed measures from many angles and to test them by every consideration affecting the common weal.

During the Great War he was tireless and invaluable in the Red Cross and in other charitable, financial and administrative activities directed to the aid of the soldier and his dependents and to the support of the government. Many philanthropies were promoted by his zeal. His gifts to causes of this nature were generous, substantial and constant.

Although tolerant of all other beliefs, he was devout, faithful, wise, in unwearied support of the Episcopal Church. Religion was no perfunctory or formal affair in his scheme of living. Christianity was to him a vital, daily reality and a steady force toward a higher and wider sphere of service for all mankind.

He was an author of distinction. His most signal contribution in this field was " Theodore Roosevelt, The Logic of his Career," published in 1916. To this work he brought the intimate personal friendship of many years, and general political sympathy. Although he could not follow Roosevelt in his policies of 1912, but on the contrary supported the nominee of the Republican party, this did not chill the warmth of personal esteem each felt for the other. This biography reveals in the writer the poise of a forceful, calm, sagacious man, with eye

single to the truth in all its bearings. It is a valuable contribution to the history of a somewhat turbulent period in political history. In the living presence of his dominating friend, Mr. Washburn undertook the difficult task of impartial analysis and of placing events and personalities in their right perspective. He had substantially completed a biography of the late John W. Weeks, which is soon to be published. "Industrial Worcester," a history of the manufacturing development of his native city, came from his pen in 1917. Many of his addresses upon economic, governmental and historical subjects have been printed. He has written concerning the Sherman Anti-Trust Act with the authority of one possessing the unusual combination of statesmanship, wide manufacturing and business experience, deep interest, thorough learning, long study, and personal association with many responsible for its enactment and construction.

He was elected a member of this Society on December 11, 1913. His contributions to its proceedings were, in 1919, a communication on Roosevelt; in 1922, a paper on George Whitefield in New England; in 1925, a memoir of Henry Cabot Lodge; in 1926, a paper on Roosevelt and the 1912 Campaign. He made a gift to the Society of the Mauduit Papers in 1917. He was elected a member of the Council in April, 1927.

He had an extensive acquaintance with public men covering a considerable period. His intimate friendship with President Roosevelt began when they were classmates in college, and continued to increase so long as they both lived. It was unbroken by the sharp differences as to political policies arising in 1912. He was a confidential friend of President Taft, and a warm admirer of the present President. With Henry Cabot Lodge and John W. Weeks he was on terms of close fellowship. While in Congress he was a trusted neighbor of the late Chief Justice White. Such relations with important public men carrying weighty governmental responsibilities are proof that he brought to their intercourse insight, courage, helpfulness, sympathy, wisdom. He was the familiar companion of the powerful because out of the richness of his own intellectual and moral resources he was able to contribute to their power.

He dispensed a generous hospitality. He keenly enjoyed social intercourse with kindred spirits. Exceptional charm of

manner was his. Association with him was most agreeable. His conversation displayed at once the wide culture, the quick intelligence, the fine courtesy, of unusual abilities trained by thorough education. His natural endowment included a keen sense of humor and the ready capacity for genuine wit. He was always kindly, never sarcastic. He never spoke a word or gave utterance to an opinion discordant to the most delicate sense of good will. The hasty remark, the ungracious expression, the improvident thought, never fell from his lips nor flowed from his pen. Unobtrusive and obscure opportunity to serve his fellow men was more attractive than that which showed itself in the market place. Plain and forceful speech, clear and graceful writing, were at his command. The apposite word and the well constructed sentence were the appropriate garment of his unobscured thought. A little above the average in height, slightly full of figure, of ruddy complexion and open countenance, erect of carriage and elastic in step, he was an example of rare manly beauty. His bearing displayed the outward deportment of the elevated soul.

The sorrows of life were borne with patience and its buffets with equanimity. He was withal a happy man because he had wisdom and understanding; his thoughts were interesting and his affections rightly placed. He was a versatile man. Diversities of gifts were his, but they were animated by the one spirit of useful service. No one of the numerous talents entrusted to his keeping was hidden in the earth; every one was employed to its full advantage. Doubtless opinions differ as to his dominant characteristic. To me he seemed to possess a special genius for friendship. He had many friends and they were deeply attached to him. No one of them ever failed to find in him the tender consideration, sagacious advice, and understanding heart adapted to his need.

Mr. Washburn was a much greater man than the sum of his describable qualities. Although mild and gentle in manner, he was a man of might and power. "The velvet scabbard held a sword of steel." He was more than our words can declare.

His service to the nation was of no mean order. Manifestly he was an important personage in the Commonwealth. In the city of his home, for many years he was easily the first citizen. He was devoted to her manufacturing and business interests,

to her educational growth, to her charitable institutions, to every cause contributing to her material and spiritual welfare. He cherished her fair name. He strove for her upbuilding as a good place in which to live and to found and rear a family. The void caused by his going will be felt for many a day. That will pass. The sense of gratitude that such a man has lived and has so enriched the life of the community will endure.

Mr. FRENCH read a paper on "The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775; the British Story."

Mr. STIMSON read extracts of letters written from Ticonderoga in 1776 by Persifor Frazer.

Mr. NORCROSS contributed from his collection the following letters:

DUKE OF PORTLAND TO MRS. BYRON [1]

BULSTRODE, Saturday, 24 Aug. 1799.

MADAM, — I have at length the honor of acquainting you that the King has been graciously pleased to take into consideration the circumstances of your situation, which it was your desire should be laid before His Majesty, and to give orders to Mr. Pitt in consequence of it that a Provision of £300 pr. ann. should be made to you out of the Civil List, and that it should commence forthwith.

I fear you may have thought me dilatory in the execution of your commands, but I had not till yesterday an opportunity of communication with Mr. Pitt since His Majesty's pleasure was signified to him upon this subject.

I shall esteem myself very happy if the part I have been Entrusted with in this business has been fulfilled in such a manner as to contribute to your satisfaction, and if you have the goodness to consider it as a testimony of the respect I have professed for the great Houses to which you belong and of that with which I have the honor to be, Madam, Your most obedient and most faithful Humble servant

PORTLAND.

Addressed: Mrs. Byron — Newstead Abbey.
Endorsed: 24 aug. 1799.
Duke of Portland to Mrs. Byron announcing pension of £300 per annum to her.

[1] Catherine Gordon Byron, wife of John Byron, and mother of the poet. The Newstead estate gave about £1500 a year.

John Tyler to Mrs. Beeckman [1]

Sherwood Forest, April 3, 1849.

Accompanying this, Dear Margaret, are two letters the one to Mr. Beeckman and the other to Col. David. That to Mr. B. is left unsealed so that you may perceive that there is no treason in it, that to the Col. is also in the same condition, and is susceptable to any postscript any one of you may think proper to indite. I deemed it best to write the letter in place of giving men formal cards of introduction. Should the invocation of my name be necessary to either of the emigrants, it will be more potential in the form adopted than any other. Besides I acquit myself of the more pleasing task of expressing my hopes and expectations of their safety and success in the unfettered form of free correspondence and hope thereby to provoke from each elaborate responses. I suppose that before my letters can reach San Francisco, both the adventurers will have arrived there. I shall be most delighted to receive their first impressions of the country and its inhabitants at the earliest moment after they shall have put foot on shore —

Your letter in reply to my brief note gave us great pleasure, as it furnished at the moment additional assurance to that previously received that your health had become good, and that son " little love " was growing rapidly. A more recent letter however to Julia from yourself or son's mother has led us to fear that you were still *bilious* and not as well. In fact every letter almost has some account to give of torturing head aches or bilious attacks, and yet a gentle admonition is often addressed to us here of the hazards of a southern climate. Now be it known to you that no members of our family, black or white, has had a bilious attack for six months, and that I do verily believe this to be the healthiest climate in the world for ten months of the year. The influenza has prevailed everywhere and of course we could not expect exemption, but that is all. And now the spring is coming on us with a rapid step. The hyacinths are all in full blow, and the shrubs begin to put forth their leaves — The birds are singing from almost every tree, and Nature has entirely thrown off her fetters of ice. How delightful the sensations awakened by the fact that the winter is over, and yet with you the snow King still rules, and will continue to do so for a month to come. I am quite desirous to see your little boy. He is destined to have

[1] Margaret, daughter of Hon. Daniel and Juliana (McLachlan) Gardiner. She married William H. Beeckman of New York, who went to California in 1849 and died there.

black hair judging from the specimen you sent Julia. What a precious comfort he is to you now that Wm. B. is absent. Our boys continue to improve. Gardy improves in his manners somewhat and Alexander is the greatest philosopher of the age. He has a sure remedy for all the ills of life, which consists in sucking his thumb. If any thing occurs to fret him he resorts to this happy expedient and endures on in patience. If he is requested to do what is disagreeable to him, he plainly says, *I wont,* and if solicitation is resorted to he shows his perfect determination by sucking his thumb. But I find myself drawing out my letter to too great a length. Julia has or will give you a description of the scenes through which we pass in Richmond where we passed a week of frolic, and I will only add that she met with the adulation so constantly bestowed upon her. With best love to all, Your Brother,

JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER TO HIS SON [1]

VILLA MARGARET, Aug. 14, 1860.

DEAR ROBERT, — Your letter of the 10. reached me on yesterday — I am pained to hear of Priscilla's indisposition, and hope the colour of your boy will soon return to him. You say that they have gone to the sea-board without saying where — I am pleased at your correction of the mistake of the Northern Press, and especially that you published in the *Tribune*. The mistake has not a little annoy'd me. At my time of life quietude is a great blessing. John's articles were uncalled for. His last which appear'd last week in the *Enquirer,* rather mistified the matter still more. He makes a furious dash at Botts without naming him, out of place and most unjustifiable, unless he has positive proof that B. was the author of the recent attacks made on me by the Northern Press. This I do not believe.

The Country is undoubtedly in an alarming condition. While I think you are too bitter on Douglass, yet I consider his course, and that of his friends, unfortunate. In truth, I see nothing to approve on either side. The eight Southern States, had they remained in the Charleston Convention, might easily have defeated him, and, making a proper selection, might have waived a platform altogether. Bell becomes stronger every day, as is proven in the Missouri election; but still I persuade myself that Breckinridge will carry majorities in most of the Southern States and the plurallity in Virginia; but of course every thing is in doubt by the division in the Democratic

[1] Printed in part in Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers,* II. 560.

ranks. Let things result as they may, I fear that the great Republic has seen its best days.

But I did not mean to do more than to say to you that you had better make us a visit here for a short time. We have a delightful place, and a change of air would benefit you in all probability. Your friend, C. H. Mallory, expresses a great desire to see you. Love to all. Your Father

J TYLER.

Mr. FORD communicated a

STATEMENT BY PRESTON S. BROOKS

The original manuscript is in the possession of the daughter of Mr. Brooks, Rosa Means Brooks, who married Vardry Echols McBee, a civil engineer. In seeking a portrait of Mr. Brooks I learned of this statement through James Elliott Heath, of Norfolk, Va., who obtained from Mrs. McBee permission to print. The attack on Sumner occurred May 22, 1856.

In the Senate of the United States on the 19th and 20th May Mr. Sumner of Mass delivered a speech in which he reflected injuriously upon the State of South Carolina and was particularly offensive to Senator Butler who is my relative. I preferred to see the published Speech and saw it for the first time on wednesday morning.

The objectionable passages are to be found on the 5th 29th and 30th pages of Mr. Sumners Speech which I have marked with a pen, and are as follows,

But before entering entering upon the argument, &c.

As soon as I had read the speech I felt it to be my duty to inflict some return for the insult to my State and my relative. On wednesday I took a seat in the Capitol grounds, expecting Mr. Sumner to pass. While going down the lower steps of the Capitol I met Mr. Edmundson of Va., who is my personal friend, and asked him to walk with me to the seat. I then informed him that it was my purpose to see Mr. Sumner and that as he might be accompanied by several of his friends I desired him to remain with me as a witness and for nothing else. I also enjoined upon him on no account to interfere. Mr. Sumner did not pass by while we were so seated though we remained until ½ past 12 o clock. My colleague Mr. Keitt joined us a few moments before we returned to the House and so did Senator Johnson of Arkansas. Neither of them was in-

formed of my purpose during that day. During the night of Wednesday and about 10 o clock I informed my colleagues Mr. Keitt and Mr Orr. of my purpose. The next morning at eleven o clock I took my position in the Porter's lodge to intercept Mr. Sumner. I again waited until half past 12 o clock — the hour at which both Houses of Congress meet. While in the Porter's lodge Mr. Edmundson on his way to the Capitol saw me and came in of his own accord. He and I went to the House together. Mr. Keitt went that morning to Baltimore.

Being twice disappointed I determined to keep my eye on Mr Sumner and knowing that the Senate would adjourn at an early hour, I went to the senate and stood without the bar until it did adjourn. Mr. Sumner continued within the Hall, though he did not all the time retain his Seat. He had upon his desk a large number of his speeches and was, when not interupted, employed in franking them. Several ladies continued in the Hall some on the floor and some in the gallery.

I waited until the last lady left and then approached Mr. Sumner in front and said — Mr Sumner I have read your last speech with care and as much impartiality as is possible under the circumstances, and I feel it my duty to say that you have libeled my State and slandered my kinsman who is aged and absent and I have come to punish you for it. As I uttered the word punish Mr. Sumner offered to rise and when about half erect I struck him a slight blow with the smaller end of my cane. He then rose fully erect and endeavoured to make a battle. I was then compelled to strike him harder than I had intended. About the fifth blow he ceased to resist and I moderated my blows. I continued to strike Mr. S. until he fell when I ceased. I did not strike Mr. Sumner after he had fallen. The Cane used by me was an ordinary walking stick made of gutta percha and hollow. I used it because it was light and elastic and because I fancied it would not break. The Cane had been presented to me by a friend full three months past. It had a thin gold head and was not loaded or even heavy. Mr. Sumner was never struck with the larger end of the Cane. When Mr Crittenden took hold of me and said something like " dont kill him," I replied that I had no wish to injure him seriously, but only to flogg him.

I went to the Senate alone, asked no one to go or to be with me. Indeed no one knew of my purpose to assail Mr. Sumner in the Senate. It was not my purpose or desire to assault him in the Senate, nor would I have done so, had it not become manifest that he would remain in his seat to a very late hour. The three gentlemen who alone knew of my purpose were neither present when the attack was made. Neither Mr. Orr or Mr. Edmundson were present at any

time of the affray to my knowledge. Mr. Keitt came up when it was about half over.

I deem it proper to add that the assault upon Mr Sumner was not because of his political principles, but because of the insulting language used in reference to my State and absent relative.

P. S. Brooks.

House of Reps., 28 May, '56.

William Ellery to Nathaniel Appleton [1]

Newport, Jany. 2d. 1790.

Sir, — I am informed by Peter Mumford that you had received directions from the Secretary of the Treasury to stop issuing on the first instant. I have not received a line from him since his appointment; nor had the late Commissioners of the Treasury favored me with a letter for six months before they went out of Office.

As I have not been ordered to desist from issuing I have gone on, and should have continued so to do; but supposing that there must be the same reason for my stopping as for your stopping, I concluded not to issue after the last day of last month; especially as that day finished a quarter. I shall be much obliged to you if you will let me know what the Secretary has written to you on the subject of issuing, and what provision, if any, is made for payment of the arrearage of your salary; and also whether you expect the Loan Offices will be continued or not.

Our General Assembly will meet next Monday week, and I hope will order a Convention to be called; but it is uncertain. The accession of North Carolina to the New Government has given a considerable shock to our wicked Majority; but I am afraid that nothing which doth not apply immediately and forcibly to their interest will ever induce them to embrace the Union; and their interest cannot be effected much by any restrictions which Congress may lay on our trade until the next fall; which is the time when they must export the surplusage of their cheese, barley, lime, etc., etc. As for any injury the merchants may sustain from such restrictions the Majority would rather rejoice at their lament of it, so great is their aversion to them; because they are Feds and have opposed their base paper money system. A requisition of specie to be paid in a short time, and, if not paid at the period assigned for payment, to be collected by force, would have a more speedy effect than any other measure which can be devised; but this might be thought too harsh

[1] From the Colburn mss. in the Bostonian Society.

a measure, and I hope, as I have already mentioned, that the approaching Session of our General Assembly will render any coercive measures unnecessary.

My son who waits upon his uncle to Cambridge will hand this letter to you and your letter to him, and he will return at the close of the next week. As I wish to receive an answer by him, I hope it will be convenient for you to write me immediately on the receipt hereof. My son will either remain in your office 'til you shall have finished it, or call upon you for it at the time you shall assign. With great regard I am, Dear Sir, your most obedt. servant.

WILLIAM ELLERY.

P.S. Do you intend to apply to Congress for an allowance for a Clerk during the time of issuing. If you do let me know when you propose to do it. I mean to make an application for such allowance.

W. ELLERY.

HENRY KNOX

AND THE

LONDON BOOK-STORE

IN

BOSTON

1771–1774

HENRY KNOX — BOOKSELLER

[Note by the Editor.]

The following letters are drawn from the Papers of Major General Henry Knox, deposited in the Society by the New England Historic Genealogical Society. They relate to three years of Knox's life which would be lightly touched upon in a formal biography, overshadowed as those years were by the military and civil interest of his subsequent career. They constitute a chapter in the history of the book trade in Boston just before the outbreak of the War for Independence.

Henry Knox was born in Boston, July 25, 1750, and, after passing through the grammar school, is said to have been employed in the bookstore of John Wharton and Nicholas Bowes, whose place of business was, from 1761 to 1766, near the Town-House. In the year 1766 or 1767 the partnership was dissolved. Wharton set up in Cornhill but did not long continue his trade; but Bowes, also in Cornhill, had a shop until 1777, when his name dropped from the list of booksellers. It is probable that Knox remained with Bowes until he established his own business, as Longman sent messages to Bowes when writing to Knox.

In the *Massachusetts Gazette,* July 25, 1771, appeared an advertisement of size announcing the opening on that day of a new London Book-Store, by Henry Knox, in Cornhill, opposite Williams's Court,[1] with a "large and very elegant Assortment of the most Modern Books in all Branches of Literature, Arts and Sciences," just imported by him in the "last ships" from London. A catalogue was promised at an early day and the advertisement listed a number of celebrated law books, Millan's *Army List* and the *Court Register* for 1771, all London Magazines, an assortment of Bibles, and stationery. Though a new London store would seem to imply a store

[1] Formerly Savage Court, running from Cornhill (now Washington Street) to Court Street. The name Williams Court was officially recognized in 1788, though it existed certainly in 1771.

supplied from London, Knox kept as his trade sign "The London Book-Store" to distinguish it from all others.[2]

At the time he set up in business it is difficult to measure the extent of the Boston book market or the competition he challenged. At the opening of the year 1771 there had been an auction of what was described as "a great Variety of Books, Chiefly printed here," among which were listed 50 dozen of Tate and Brady's Psalms, 5 dozen Watts' Hymns and Psalms, 90 dozen Psalters and Primers, 70 dozen of small Histories, 72 dozen Proof Catechisms, 20 Groce of Verses, and a number of well bound books in history, divinity, and sermons. This could be a clearance of stock by a printer or publisher or a forced sale, but no name indicates in whose behalf they were sold.[3] Watts' Hymns had been printed in Boston, by Mein and Fleeming in 1767, and the same firm published Tate and Brady. It would be safe to assume that these large lots of books were thrown upon the market because of the dissolution of the partnership of John Mein and John Fleeming. They had separated in 1769 and the sale probably marked the last stage of settlement.

The spring of 1771 marked a revival of the trade with England, much disorganized for some years by the non-importation agreements. Under them the independent or dishonorable importer gained, provided the discovery of his mal-practices did not rouse against him popular clamor or a visitation from a committee. In April, 1771, Samuel Eliot advertised that "after a long suspension of Business by his strict adherence to the late Non-Importation Agreement," he had imported a large and elegant assortment of English and India Goods, and John Hancock and others followed with similar notices.[4] It may, therefore, be assumed that the trade conditions were becoming favorable. Competition would be shown by the advertisements of booksellers and printers, though the latter usually confined their activity to handling their own publications. Taking Evans as a guide, there were ten printers and publishers, eight booksellers, and six printers and booksellers in Boston when Knox opened his

[2] The title had been used by John Mein in 1766–67.

[3] *Massachusetts Gazette,* January 31, 1771.

[4] *Boston Gazette,* April 15, 22, 1771.

book-store. That number would seem to be sufficient for a town the size of Boston at that time.

A general store, dealing in many kinds of goods, might have a book connection of enough importance to warrant mention in advertising. Thus " At the Store opposite the Cornfield, in Union Street " — a sufficient description to identify the shop as that of Philip Freeman, who modestly made no mention of his name — was to be had a general assortment of books of law, physic, surgery, divinity, history, etc.; but that statement was followed by a list of cloths, shoes, knee straps, bone lace, theodolites and microscopes.[5] Books probably formed a small part of his dealings, yet he is listed as a bookseller from 1754 to 1787. With better claims as booksellers were John Boyles, in Marlborough Street, next door to the Three Doves, and John Langdon, tertius, who was " at his Store lately improv'd by Messrs. Cox & Berry, nearly opposite the Post Office." [6] Cox and Berry had arrived from London late in 1766 in the *John-Galley,* Captain Blake, and took over a store of Green and Walker, opposite Dr. Cooper's Meeting-House, with plate, jewellery, gold and silver lace, and modern books of all kinds, and they named a number of technical books of quality.[7]

There are no advertisements of books from London or of booksellers in the hard years 1769 and 1770, and Cox and Berry seem to have retired before the storm and gone to England.[8] They returned in May, 1771, and opened two doors above the British Coffee House, with lines much as those constituting their stock in the earlier period.[9] In a short time they advertised quite extensive lists of books, showing their growth in that particular line.[10] Boyles had for some time offered books from London at " little more than the sterling cost," and books of good quality. His list opens

[5] *Boston Evening Post,* Feb. 25, 1771.

[6] *Massachusetts Gazette,* Nov. 29, 1770. Probably he was there in 1768, shortly after Cox and Berry had retired. Note his elaborate advertisement in *Boston Gazette,* June 10, 1771.

[7] *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 22, 1766; *Massachusetts Gazette,* Jan. 1, 1767.

[8] Their last advertisement appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 8, 1768.

[9] *Boston Gazette,* May 6, 1771.

[10] *Ib.,* Oct. 7, 1771.

with Clarendon's History of England and ends with Hoyle's *Games,* including writings of Young, Gay, Goldsmith, Locke, Milton, Shenstone and Pope, and not forgetting Plutarch or Montesquieu, Fielding and Harvey.[11] John Langdon, tert., showed enterprise by advertising good books with the prices and promising such a weekly list in the newspaper, a promise that was soon broken.[12]

In May, 1771, James Foster Condy advertised books in law, physic, divinity and history, as also school-books, Bibles, psalters and primers, to be had at his store in Union Street. And William McAlpine, on Marlborough Street, a few shops northward of Dr. Gardiner's, offered a great variety of books in divinity, history, etc., the usual assortment of Bibles and primers, and binding and printing.[13] One month later, John Fleeming, announcing one of his own publications, named Bibles, Testaments and school-books, as well as "an Assortment of Classicks."[14] In June, 1771, Alford Butler, in Ann Street, two doors below the Golden-Key, near the Draw-bridge, displayed an "assortment of the newest and most approved Novels — the newest and best Books in Arithmetic, Surveying, Measuring, Gauging, Book-keeping, etc.," with Bibles and School-books.[15] Thus Knox, when he took down the shutters of his shop, was not without the competition of other established and recognized dealers and importers. There may have been a touch of sentiment in the day selected for the opening, for July 25 was his birthday and he had just attained his majority.

In that day a bookseller took part in publishing by lending his name on the title as a distributor. The first issue of the press connected with Knox was an anonymous production entitled *Some Thoughts on the Names of the Days of the Week; . . . In a Letter to a Friend.* It was published by

[11] *Boston Gazette,* Jan. 14, 1771.

[12] *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 7, 1770. Rebecca Holbrook, having a house on the Common, offered books, but it may be doubted whether she can be listed as a bookseller. *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 27, 1770.

[13] *Boston Evening Post,* May 20, 1771.

[14] *Massachusetts Gazette,* June 20, 1771.

[15] *Boston Gazette,* June 24, 1771. This may be A. Butler who was in Portsmouth, N. H., later in this year. Evans says he was in Boston in 1765–66, but he advertised in 1771.

Ezekiel Russell, a printer and bookseller of Boston of some three years' standing, with a shop next to Dabney's English Goods-Store, opposite the Founder's-Arms, Marlborough Street. No copy of the tract is known, but a price of seven coppers does not indicate more than a pamphlet.[16] Nor can it be asserted that Knox's name actually appeared on the title, but the piece was advertised as also sold at his shop. He introduced a novel feature in an early advertisement, giving the title of a book and adding an opinion upon its merits, taken from the *Critical Review,* or possibly compiled by himself.[17] He also had taken on a stock of stationery, but the management of that seems to have been turned over to his brother, William Knox.

Knox is specially named as the agent of Ames's *Almanack* for 1772, described as the "Original Copy" of the work. For a merry war at times existed between rival almanac makers, serving to advertise the wares, which were counted among the most popular of the day, and possibly profitable, in spite of the great competition.[18] He may even have considered publishing ventures, as the Letters of Junius. The proposals offered a neat edition, at three shillings four pence, sewed in blue, for the first volume, and the second in proportion, "The Work to be put in the Press immediately upon the Appearance of a sufficient Number of Subscribers for defraying the Expences." Subscriptions were taken by

[16] It is advertised in *Massachusetts Gazette,* Aug. 26, 1771.

[17] *Boston Gazette,* Oct. 28, 1771. He does not appear to have repeated the experiment, perhaps because he issued catalogues of his offerings. No example of his catalogue or card list of plays has been found.

[18] *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 9, 23, 1771. The second notice gives a list of booksellers which may supplement those found in the Knox Papers: John Green and Joseph Russell, William McAlpine, A. Steele and John Boyles in Marlborough Street; Richard Draper in Newbury Street; John Fleeming in King Street; Isaiah Thomas, near the Mill-Bridge; John Perkins in Union Street; A. Barclay in Corn-hill; Samuel Hall and John Mascoll Williams in Salem; Bulkeley Emerson, Newbury-Port; A. Butler in Portsmouth; E. May, E. Brown, C. and A. Davis, Boston-Neck; S. Craft, J. Grayton, and J. Patten, in Roxbury. An even wider distribution was offered for the proposed publication of a second volume of Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers:* Daniel and Robert Fowle, Portsmouth; John Carter, Providence; Solomon Southwick, Newport; Ebenezer Watson, Hartford; Thomas and Samuel Green, New Haven; Timothy Green, New London; Hugh Gaine and John Holt, New York; and William and Thomas Bradford, Philadelphia. The larger number were local printers.

Knox, "the Publisher," by most other booksellers in Town, J. Hillyer, Salem, and D. Bayley, Newbury-Port.[19] The venture came to naught and no American edition of Junius was printed until 1791, when two issues appeared in Philadelphia.

In May, 1772, Knox moved from opposite Williams's Court in Cornhill to a new store. His card read: "Henry Knox, Informs his Friends, Customers and others, That he has removed from the Store he lately improved, to one next to the Sign of the Three Kings, a little to the Southward of the Town-House, in Cornhill, Boston," and added paper hangings to his stock.[20]

Knox's name was connected with some other publications, but only as seller of the product. Among them were James Allen's *Poem,* intended to have been printed with Joseph Warren's Oration on the Boston Massacre; [21] George Cooke's *Complete English Farmer;* [22] Samuel How, *Simplicity of the Gospel defended,* published by John Mascoll Williams of Haverhill; [23] the proposed issue of John Wise, *Vindication of the Government of New-England;* [24] George Alexander Stevens, *Celebrated Lecture on Heads,* which was Knox's own undertaking.[25]

In April, 1773, Knox announced that he had imported in the last ship from London, "a very large and valuable Collection of Books, consisting of the latest and most approved Authors in all Branches of polite Literature. Catalogues of which may be had gratis at said Store." He added: "Gentlemen in the Country who are concerned in purchasing Books for social Libraries, Country Merchants, Traders and Others who shall please to favour him with their Custom, may rely upon having their Books on the most reasonable Terms and every Favour thankfully acknowledged." [26] The *Massachusetts Gazette,* Nov. 26, 1773, contained another of his

[19] *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 12, 1771; Jan. 2, 1772.

[20] *Boston Gazette,* May 25, 1772.

[21] *Massachusetts Gazette,* May 21, 1772.

[22] *Ib.* Evans places the publication in 1770, though the advertisement reads "This Day Published."

[23] *Boston Gazette,* June 22, 1772.

[24] *Massachusetts Gazette,* Aug. 13, 1772.

[25] *Ib.,* Sept. 10, 1772.

[26] *Ib.,* April 22, 1773.

announcements, in which examples of his stock are given, bearing such recognized names as Adam Ferguson, Hawkesworth, and Thomas Leland. He specially named four publications as having been " written expressly with the laudable Intention to cultivate, improve and expand the Minds of Youth, to inspire them with the Love of Virtue, and make them gloriously Emulous of the best and greatest Characters; this Intention being well executed renders them very proper Companions for docile and deserving Youth." Not one of the four titles would be readily recognized today.

The *Massachusetts Gazette* in 1774 printed an advertisement of Job Orton's *Discourses to the Aged,* as lately published and to be sold by Henry Knox. The notice was somewhat unusual in having an analysis of the chapters and an elaborate puff on the work, drawn from some English source.[27] Orton's tract had been issued in England in 1771 and the writer enjoyed a reputation there which time has not sustained. It is not known how this particular volume should have appealed to the young Boston bookseller so strongly as to make him venture its re-issue in Massachusetts. Bell, of Philadelphia, showed better judgment in reprinting Orton's more popular essay, *Memoirs* of Rev. Philip Doddridge. Knox's name was associated with *Rivington's Gentleman and Lady's Pocket Almanack for 1774;* [28] Bernard Romans' *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida;* [29] Dodd's *Reflections on Death* — a book thought eminently proper to be given at funerals, " a very laudable practice; " [30] and again with three issues of Rivington — Cook's *Voyage,* Lord Chesterfield's *Letters* and Wynne's *Dialogues.*[31]

Knox made his usual spring announcement in March, 1774, offering a number of classes of imported books, all the magazines of merit, and the usual catalogue, of which no copy has survived. He expanded somewhat his appeal to libraries, as follows:

Those Gentlemen in the Country who are actuated with the most genuine Principles of Benevolence in their Exertions to exterminate

[27] *Ib.,* Jan. 6, 1774.
[28] *Ib.,* Jan. 13, 1774.
[29] *Ib.,* Jan. 27, 1774.
[30] *Ib.,* Feb. 3, 1774.
[31] *Ib.,* April 15, 1774.

Ignorance and Darkness, by the noble Medium of SOCIAL LIBRARIES; Country Merchants, Traders and others who shall please to favour him with their written or verbal Orders, may rely upon having the most punctual Attention paid to them, and the Prices so low as to convince them they are CHEAP INDEED.

This literary offering was followed by notice that Keyser's Pills and Hill's never-failing cure for the bite of a mad dog could be had at the same place.[32] The same advertisement appeared in the *Gazette* in May, and twice in June — the last public notice of Knox as a bookseller.[33] The arrival of General Gage and the British regiments gave other direction to his thoughts.

By the end of 1774 the bookselling and publishing had become too uncertain to be followed and Knox suffered with the rest. His last advertisement appeared in the *Boston Gazette,* of March 20, 1775:

Just published, And to be sold by Henry Knox in Cornhill, Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.* The Farmer refuted: Or, a more impartial and comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies, intended as a further Vindication of the Congress. In Answer to a Letter from A. W. Farmer [Samuel Seabury], intitled a View of the Controversy between Great-Britain and her Colonies: Including a Mode of determining the present Disputes finally and effectually.

This tract, by Alexander Hamilton, was printed by James Rivington, and the advertisement shows that Knox would still act as the agent of the New York publisher on matter favourable to the Colonies.

Then occurred the affair of Lexington and Concord and that of Bunker Hill. Knox is said to have served as a volunteer at the last mentioned, but apparently made no claim on the Province for his service. Boston was placed in a state of siege and Knox's career as a bookseller came to an end. Once again his name occurred in the *Boston Gazette,* October 23, 1775, but books were not the cause.

Some Person last August brought a Bundle for the Subscriber from Norwich in Connecticut, containing 8 Pair of Cotton Hose,

[32] *Massachusetts Gazette,* March 3, 1774.
[33] *Ib.,* May 5, June 23 and 30, 1774.

and three Cotton Breeches Patterns, which he has not received. Whoever has them in Possession, and will give Notice to the Printer hereof, where they are, shall be handsomely rewarded for their Trouble.

HENRY KNOX.

The letters show the business methods and connections of a bookseller of that day. He imports and distributes, he publishes and acts as selling agent, he takes orders for binding and he sells on long credit to country booksellers, hawkers and individuals. He goes outside of books and has patent medicines and paper hangings. That Knox met with success can be measured by his advertisements, which equal in number and exceed in detail those of his competitors. His standing is shown by growing relations with James Rivington of New York, one of the most enterprising printers of his day and one of the best known by his career in the War of Independence. Rivington favored Knox by offering shares in his undertakings, in his agency for Keyser's Pills, in a tea venture of doubtful legality, and in suggestion. Knox's transactions with Longman continued over some years, which would indicate mutual confidence. What letters are here printed are only fragmentary, but they are sufficient to show in a measure the quality of books dealt in by one of the leading booksellers of the town, and thus indicate the taste of the reading public. As such they supplement the story of the *Boston Book Market* in 1679–1700, printed by the Club of Odd Volumes.

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN [1]

LONDON, January 18, 1772.

SIR, — I Received Your favour of the first of Novemr. last, and am much obliged to You for Your kind present of three pair of Ducks, but unfortunately all but two of the Drakes Dyed in the passage, have since presented them to a friend as I have no conveniency of keeping of them my self, haveing no place but in London where my Business is carried on, or would not have parted

[1] Thomas Longman (1730–1797), the nephew and successor of Thomas Longman (1699–1755), founder of the publishing house of Longman.

with them on any account. Your favour of the 21st of Novr. last Inclosing a Commission for Books and Mr. Hancock's Bill on Hayly [2] and Hopkins for One Hundred pounds and Thos. Moss's on Ommany & Co. for Thirteen pounds twelve shillings are Received safe, the former has been duly accepted, but the latter will not be paid for want of Effects, it becomes due the 25th of this Month and shall then be regularly Noted and Return'd You.[3]

The Books are getting ready as fast as possible and shall be forwarded agreeable to Your Instructions either by Scott [4] or Hall.[5] Every thing that I have hitherto sent You has been Charged upon the lowest terms and shall continue to be so. Books are usually Retailed in London according to the printed Catalogue sent You, and new Publications agreeable to the prices mentioned in the Reviews.

As I have had no opportunity of forwarding the Magazines since Septr. last have put them up in a Trunk with New Publications, Court Registers, Memorandom Books and some other Articles which are likely to be wanted and ship't them on board the *Fortune*, Capt. Isaac Meyrick, which hope You will Receive safe and be acceptable.

As I have just got the Watch from the Maker have put it up in a little Box near the top of the Trunk and as I apprehend it is for Your own use, give me leave to request Your acceptance of it as a small token of the gratefull sence I have of Your friendship and favours and I am, Sr., Your much obliged Humble Sert.

THOS. LONGMAN.

Pray be so kind as to present my respectfull Complim[en]ts to Mr. Bowes [6] and acquaint Him that His favour is Received and that the Books are getting ready with all expedition.

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN

LONDON, February 11, 1772.

SR., — Your favour of the 10th of December Inclosing an Addition to Your former Order is Received safe. I now Inclose an

[2] George Hayley.

[3] Moss's bill was dated "Gibraltar in Boston Harbour the 21st of August, 1771," and was drawn upon Onimanney & Co., Savage Gardens, London.

[4] James Scott, master of the *Hayley*. 2 *Proceedings*, X. 75.

[5] James Hall, who brought tea to Boston in November, 1773. *Ib.*, 81.

[6] Nicholas Bowes, bookseller in Boston, opposite the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill.

Invoyce and Bill of Loading of Eleven Trunks and one Case of Books (being the Contents of both Your Commissions) which are Insured and Shipt on board the *Hayley,* Capt. James Scott, and hope You will Receive safe, and meet with Your approbation, it has been with the utmost difficulty that I have been able to get them ready for this Conveyance, but as I apprehend Your Receiving them early in the Spring will be of some advantage was determined to do every thing that possably could be done for You, and I am, Sr., Your very much obliged Humble Sert.

THOS. LONGMAN.

Pray be so kind as to Deliver the small Parcels Directed to Mr. Jacob Smith.

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN

LONDON, March 10, 1772.

SIR, — The Magazines for the Month of February, and the within mentioned New Publications, &c, are Ship't on board the *Lydia,* Capt. Hall (as Stores) and will be Delivered on Your applying for them. I now return You Thos. Moss's Bill on Mr. Ommany & Co. (regularly Noted and Protested) which will not be paid for want of Effects, the Drawer being Dead.

I Received your favour of the 20th of January Yesterday (by Capt. White) Inclosing an Order, allso Thos. Boylston's [7] Bill on Messrs. Lane [8] & Co for One Hundred pounds Stirling, the Books shall be forwarded as expeditiously as possible and the Bill (when accepted) shall be passed to the Credit of Your Account.

The *Second* Vol. of Harwood's Introduction [9] was intended *only* to be sent (by Cazneau) it being then just published, and You will find will be wanted by those Gentlemen who purchased the first Volume before. I am with many thanks for all favours, Sr. Your much obliged Humble Ser.

THOS. LONGMAN.

[7] Thomas Boylston (1721–1798).

[8] Thomas Lane.

[9] Edward Harwood, *A new Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament.* The second volume had appeared in 1771.

INVOICE

Mr. HENRY KNOX. LONDON, March 7, 1772.

Inv. 15. Bt. of THOMAS LONGMAN.

6	Grecian Daughter a new Trajidy by Murphy [10]	7. 6
2	Duncan on Mercury S. R. Ld.[11]	5. 4
2	Percival's medical Essays Do.[12]	10. 4
2	Oswald's Appeal Vol. 2 Do.[13]	10. 4
1	Life of Geraund 2v Do.[14]	10. 4
4	Vocal Music Volume 2d red rold [?] [15]	10.
2	Miscellany of Eastern Learning 2v S. R. Ld.[16]	10. 8
1	Kalm's Travels thro N. America 2v Do.[17]	10. 4
1	Hulme on puerperal Fevers [18]	2. 8
1	Memoires of an Hermophradite [19]	1. 8
1	New and Elegant Amusements [20]	2. 2
1	Letsome on Tea Qto sew'd [21]	3. 6
2	Junius Letters, 2v S. R. Ld. [22]	19. 8
3	Recuel Noveau de pièces Do.[23]	8

[10] Arthur Murphy. The piece is described in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 105.

[11] Andrew Duncan, *Observations on the Operation and Use of Mercury in the Venereal Disease.* Edinburgh, 1772. Noticed in *Ib.,* 132.

[12] Thomas Percival, *Essays, medical and experimental.* London, J. Johnson, 1772. *Ib.,* XLIV (1772). 167.

[13] James Oswald, *An Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion.* Edinburgh, Kincaid and Creech. 1766–72.

[14] *The History of the famous Preacher Friar Gerund de Campazas; otherwise Gerund Zotes.* Translated from the Spanish of Father Isla. London, T. Davies, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 228, 433. Baretti had proposed an issue in Spanish. *London Chronicle,* April 30, 1772.

[15] *Vocal Music, or the Songster's Companion.* Robert Horsfield, 1772. *Ib.,* XLIV (1771). 174.

[16] Denis Dominique Cardonne, *Miscellany of Eastern Learning.* London, J. Wilkie, 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 187.

[17] Peter Kalm, of whose travels in North America a translation, by Johann Reinhold Forster, appeared in London in 1770 and in a second edition in 1772, published by T. Lowndes.

[18] Nathaniel Hulme, *A Treatise on Puerperal Fever.* London, 1772.

[19] Inscribed to the Chevalier D'Eon. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 265. *London Chronicle,* Feb. 27, 1772.

[20] *New and elegant Amusements for the Ladies of Great-Britain. By a Lady.* Crowder. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 132.

[21] John Coakley Lettsome, *The Natural History of the Tea-tree.* London, J. Robson, 1772. Noticed in *Ib.,* 174.

[22] *Junius.* 2 vols. Henry Sampson Woodfall, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 259. This was the first complete edition. Knox had prepared a proposal to publish the Letters, but did not accomplish his purpose. See his advertisement in *Massachusetts Gazette,* Jan. 2, 1772.

[23] Probably a volume of *Recueil des Gazettes,* which, under various titles, ran from 1631 to 1790.

3	Essay on Patriotism [24]	2. 6
6	Norfolk Militia half bound [25]	2. 17.
1	Clarke on Shoeing Horses [26]	1. 3
1	George Alexander Stevens's Songs red rold [27]	3.
1	Thoughts on the Constitutional power [28]	1. 8
1	Considerations on Criminal Law S. R. Ld.[29]	5. 2
1	Areopagitica &c [30]	1. 3
2	Medical Transactions Vol 2 S. R. Ld.[31]	10. 4
1	Essay on Song Writing Do.[32]	4. 1
1	Enfields preachers directory [33]	5. 4
1	Letters on the English nation S. R. Ld.[34]	5. 2
1	Conjectures on the New Testament Do.[35]	5. 2
	paid noting and protesting the Bill return'd for non payment	5. 9
	Magazines and Reviews for the month of February	——
	Charges of Shipping	2. 6
		£11. 2. 8

[24] A work with this title is in the British Museum but was printed in 1788.

[25] *The Norfolk Militia, Being an Abstract of the Plan of Discipline for the Norfolk Militia, which is directed and ordered by his Excellency the Captain-General* [Thomas Hutchinson] *to the Plan of Exercise for the Militia of this Province.* Draper. Price One Pistareen. A fourth edition appeared in 1772. The Massachusetts item is here noted, but there may have been an English publication of the same title, as the price would indicate. Against the four pieces in notes 22–25 is written: " wrote for before."

[26] J. Clarke, *Observations on the Shoeing of Horses.* Edinburgh, A. Donaldson, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 261.

[27] George Alexander Stevens, *Songs, comic and satyrical.* Oxford, for the Author, 1772.

[28] *Thoughts on the constitutional Power and Right of the Crown.* Kearsley, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 450.

[29] Henry Dagge, *Considerations on Criminal Law.* London, T. Cadell, 1772.

[30] *Areopagitica; . . . Reprinted from the old Edition published by the Author. To which are added, a Dedication to Ch. Jenkinson, Esq; and a Preface by the Editor.* London, S. Bladon, 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 132.

[31] *Medical Transactions, published by the College of Physicians in London. London Chronicle,* March 5, 21, 1772.

[32] *Essays on Song-writing; with a Collection of such English Songs as are most eminent for Poetical Merit.* London, J. Johnson, 1772. Noticed in *Ib.,* 188.

[33] William Enfield, *The Preacher's Directory.* London, J. Johnson, 1771.

[34] This is the title of a work by John Shebbeare, printed in 1755, under the pseudonym of Batista Angeloni. As all the other titles in the list are of 1771 or 1772, this particular one may be *Letters concerning the present State of England.* Almon. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 133.

[35] *Conjectures on the New Testament, collected from various Authors, as well in regard to Words as Pointing.* W. Bowyer and J. Nichols, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 555.

From WRIGHT & GILL

LONDON, 2nd April, 1772.

SIR, — We forgot in our Invoice to acquaint you that there are many Things which we have now sent, that are not Articles in our Trade, but as we imagined you were ignorant of this, and it being your first Order of this Sort, we were unwilling to dissapoint you and upon that Account procured them. We desire you will excuse our dealing in this mercantile Way; Stationary which is all our Trade consists of we shall be glad to serve you in, and hope you will not take it Amiss, but as we advanced ready Money for the different Articles, beg you will remit us to their Amount immediately on receiving them. We don't mean to deny you any service, as we shall always be ready to oblige you in any small or particular Commodity, though it does not exactly tally with the Articles of our Trade, provided you send a Bill to its Amount. We only would be understood to refuse launching out into any other Business, as we think ourselvs sufficiently engaged in our own.

Parchments being very dear you will observe the Prices of the Books which we are now forwarding you will be advanc'd. We are, Sir, Your etc.

WRIGHT & GILL

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN

INVOICE

LONDON, June 10, 1772

Mr. HENRY KNOX.

Bought of THOMAS LONGMAN.

	£	s.	d.
1 Northcote's Anatomy, 8vo. S. R. Ld.[36]		5.	2
1 Riccoboni's Letters, 2v. Do.[37]		5.	4
1 Life of Agrippa, 8vo. Do.[38]		5.	2
1 Bromley on the Sacrament Do. cr. 8vo.[39]		2.	8

[36] William Northcote, *The Anatomy of the Human Body, for the Use of Naval Practitioners,* London, 1772.

[37] Marie Jeanne Riccoboni, *Letters from Elizabeth Sophia de Valiere to her Friend Louisa Hortensia de Canteleu. . . . Translated from the French by Mr. Maceuen.* London, 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 287.

[38] *The Life of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigne.* London, Edward and Charles Dilly, 1772.

[39] Robert Anthony Bromley, *An Inquiry into the Necessity of Preparation for the Lord's Supper.* London, John Wilkie, 1772.

1 Cullen's Synopsis Nosologia	Do. 8vo.[40]	5. 2
1 Town Eclogues	Gt.[41]	1. 8
1 Winsley Dale	Do.[42]	2. 2
1 Harwood's 5 Dissertations, 8vo.	S. R. Ld.[43]	4. 4
2 Senators [44]		4. 4
2 Stevens's new Lecture, &c.[45]		2. 6
1 Hurd's Cowley, 2v. Crown 8vo	S. R. Ld.[46]	6. 4
To Charges of Shipping		2.
		£2. 6.10

London, June 13, 1772.

Sir, — The Magazines for the Month of May, with the above New Publications, are put on board the *Boscawen,* Capt. Jacobson, by Sr. Yr. much obliged Humble Ser.

Thos. Longman.

From Thomas Longman

London, July 21, 1772.

Sir, — I have Received Your favour of the 9th of May last Inclosing an Order for Books, and Mr. Thos. Boylston's Bill on Messrs. Lane & Co. for One Hundred pounds Stirling, which is placed to the Credit of Your Account. shall take care for the future to advise You by the Captain's Bags (instead of in the parcel) of all new Books and Magazines Shipt for You. hope You will not be displeased at my mentioning a complaint made against You by some of Your Neighbours for underselling, they say it is usual for You to sell such Books as are Charged to them by me at

[40] William Cullen, *Synopsis Nosologiæ Methodicæ.* Edinburgh, 1769.

[41] Charles Jenner, *Town Eclogues,* 1772. *London Chronicle,* May 16, 1772. Not to be confused with Andrew Erskine's *Town Eclogues.* London, Cadell, 1773. *London Magazine,* XLII (1773). 196.

[42] *Wensley Dale; or Rural Contemplations. A Poem.* 2d ed. London, T, Davies, 1772. It was published for the benefit of the Infirmary at Leeds.

[43] By Edward Harwood, published in 1772.

[44] *The Senators, or a Candid Examination into the Merits of the Principal Performers of St. Stephen's Chapel.* London, 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 287. *A Review of the Poem, intitled "The Senators,"* in two parts, is noticed *Ib.,* 388, 440.

[45] George Alexander Stevens, *A Lecture on Heads,* appeared in a spurious edition in 1770, and in several reissues. The first authentic edition was published in 1785.

[46] Richard Hurd, *Select Works of Abraham Cowley.* London, 1772. It is noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 288.

5/2 for 5/6 and other Articles in proportion, this has occasioned a Complaint against me of a partiality to You, greatly to their disadvantage, and by no means justifiable, as they say they are contented to make their Remittances at twelve Months, and they suppose You do not sooner. This I should be exceedingly sorry to find true, as I should apprehend after adding the Charges of Freight, Insurance, &c., nothing could be got by it, and consequently a Trade carried on upon such terms must be destructive to us both, but hope You will satisfy me in Your next that this is not the case.

Inclosed is an Invoyce and Bill of Loading of Four Trunks and a Case of Books Shipt on board the *Hayley,* Capt. Scott, which hope You will Receive safe. You will observe most of the small Books are bound in *Canvass* instead of *Leather,* which we are obliged to do, Leather being now become so excessive dear as to have occasioned the Sheep skin Binders to make a further advance on their work, and obliges me to make an additional charge on all Articles bound in that way, but as the Canvass Binding will be found equally as strong and neat as Leather, and comes cheaper, hope You will have no objection to it, and if approved (by lessning the consumption of Leather) may be the means of preventing an advance on all Sheep rold Books, which must otherwise very soon take place. I am, Sr., Your much obliged Humble Sert.

THOS. LONGMAN.

FROM CHRISTOPHER BROWN

LONDON, August 4, 1772.

SIR, — This day was put on board The *London* Capt Calef [47] the usual Number of Magazines and Reviews with the Appendixes to each of those which are published half yearly. hope you will receive them safe and find all right. your Copy of last Commission was received by Capt. Cazneau and the addition of the two Articles shall be sent with next goods. I am, for Mr. Longman, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant

CHRIST. BROWN.

[47] Robert Calef.

From Christopher Brown

Sir, — The Magazines and Reviews for the month of September were this day Shipped on board the *Hannah,* Capt. Jarvis,[48] which hope will arrive safe. The Grand Imperial Magazine is dropt being a paltry publication, only two or three New Publications have appeard since Sending to you last, and them of no Character. I hope the Captains *Delano* and *Hall*[49] will be arrived before this comes to hand. I am, etc.

Christr. Brown.

Mr. Bowes's Review and Mag. are Inclosed in your Parcel as usual.

London, October 6, 1772.

From Daniel Bayley

Newburyport, Jany. 4, 1773.

Mr. Knox, — Please to send me by Mr. Davis
Six English Bibles Duodecimo
Six pocket Do. Daniel Bayley.[50]

Some of the New Books will be sent to you as soon as Bound the Price will be Printed.

From Joseph Clarke

Northampton, Jänry. 10th, 1773.

Mr, Knox, — Sir I wrote to you last Week by Mr. Mosman the Post for Cato's Tragedy [1] and a Copy Book. And as he has not returned yet and I dont know whether he has got them and having good Opportunity to send by Doct. Shephard [2] the bearer hereof if you have not sent them already desire you would send them now. Pray you to send likewise Goldsmith's Deserted Village [3] if you have it. Doct. Shephard will satisfy you for me what

[48] Robert Jarvis.

[49] From a note on this letter it is learned that Captain Hall "left the downs last week the day after Capt. Lyde."

[50] Bookseller in Newburyport, at his house, next door to St. Paul's Church.

[1] Addison's *Cato* had been printed at Boston in 1767, by Mein and Fleeming.

[2] Levi Shephard.

[3] The Bradfords, Philadelphia, printed the *Deserted Village* in 1771. See note 32 *infra.*

I Owe you therefore desire you would send me your Receipt by him. Should take it as a great favour if you would be so kind as to Write to me to let me know the Cost of these things and when you expect my Book, I wrote to you for, from London, to wit, Harwood's *Predestination exposed.*[4] I purpose to take the London Magazines the present year of you to begin with the year. desire you would Write me the price for a year and you will Oblige your Assured Friend and humble sert.

JOSEPH CLARKE.

FROM JAMES PUTNAM

WORCESTER, the 11th Jany., 1773.

Mr. KNOX, — By a line from you lately, I find you have discovered the mistake you made in the price of Burrows reports[5] which I offered you.

I now send for them by the bearer Mr. David Moore of Worc[este]r and he brings the money vizt. a Johannes of the Value of 48/Lm for each of the 3 Volls. and another Johannes for Willsons Repts.[6] If there is another or 4th Vol. of Burrows Repts. printed and arrived send me that also.

As to Willsons repts. if I dont satisfie you when I see you that the price I send is enough, I will give you more. Let them be all carefully done up in brown paper to prevent rubbing, as they are to come up in saddle bags.

If you have any of the London Magazines arrived since July send them also, to your most humble Servt.

JAMES PUTNAM.[7]

FROM MAJOR SAMUEL GOODWIN

CHARLESTOWN, January 20th, 1773.

SIR, there is a Gentleman in Boston ingaged to pay me a seet of Doctor Dods bibles[8] but he wants to send home for them. I

[4] Edward Harwood, *The melancholy Doctrine of Predestination exposed.* London, 1768.

[5] Sir James Burrow's *Reports, King's Bench,* 1756–72. London, 1771–80.

[6] George Wilson, *Reports, King's Courts at Westminster,* etc., 1753–74. London, 1770–75.

[7] (1725–1789), in whose office John Adams studied law.

[8] William Dodd (1729–1777), *Commentary on the Bible,* London, 1765–70. Dodd was executed for forgery.

have informed him of them you have Gott which he Can Geet as Near as Cheape as he can Import them therefore Leet me Know the loosest you will Take for them and the differane between his Importing and your selling Near the matter I dont expect it Exact for I had Rather pay the Differane and have them you have Gott and what price for a Prayer Book in follo. and for a Concordane your answer will oblige your Devoted and very humble servant.

SAMUEL GOODWIN.[9]

FROM BENJAMIN WEST

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 22, 1773.

Mr. KNOX, SIR, — I recd. yours, in which you inform me that you cannot sell me Books under 80 per Cent advance; I think it very high, but as I am out of a few Articles, must comply with your Terms, but I hope you will let them come under that, as I want them to sell again; you must be sensible that I cannot sell them for but very little more than that at retail.[10]

I have enclosed a small Memorandum, if you will send the Contents, I will see that you have your money in good Season. I am Sir, Your most Obedient, and most humble servant,

BENJ. WEST.[11]

P.S. Be pleased to let me know what Book you have upon Philosophy and Mathematics.

FROM NATHANIEL SPARHAWK

KITTERY, Jany. 22nd, 1773.

Mr. HENERY KNOX. SIR, — It is my Mother's desire to become a subscriber to your Lady's Magazine [12] for this Year 1773. She begs you would be punctual in sending each Month as soon as they Arrive. Please to direct them to Geo. King, Esqr. At Portsmouth, and he will take due care that they are forwarded to

[9] (1717–1802).

[10] On the sheet, in Knox's writing: "I am very sensible that Books Cannot be sold under."

[11] West bgan to compile and publish *Bickerstaff's New-England Almanack* in 1767 and the series continued until 1854.

[12] *Lady's Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex,* London, 1770–1832.

Kittery. Whatever may be your demands for the same my Mother Mrs. Elizabeth Sparhawk will seasonably remit you. Be so kind as to acquaint her with your Terms, and Oblige one who in his Mother's Behalf is with due respect, Sir! your most Hm. servt.

N. SPARHAWK.

P.S. If you should answer this Letter, please to direct it to my Mother or Brother, Sl. H. Sparhawk, Kittery.

FROM BULKELEY EMERSON

NEWBURY PORT, Feby. 16, 1773.

Mr. HENRY KNOX. SIR, I now send you £3.11.1 in full please to send a Receipt, and send me 1 Youngs Dictionary,[13] 3 Words Grammers, 3 Clarks Introductions,[14] 3 Cockers Arithmatick,[15] Wafers to the Value of about Two Dollars, 2 doz. Till Ink Juggs. Please to send me a Catalouge of your Books its provarble I could put off a Considerable Number of your Books in the course of a year if you judge Proper to send me an assortment on Commitions I would take them and do my best to put them off. in hast as the Post waits, Your humb. Sert.,

BULKLEY EMERSON.[16]

FROM JASON HAVEN

Mr. KNOX. SIR, — Please to send me by the Bearer 6 of Baxter's Call,[17] and charge them to your humble Servt.

JASON HAVEN.[18]

DEDHAM, Feby. 15, 1773.

[13] William Young, *A New Latin-English Dictionary,* second edition, London, 1764.

[14] John Clarke (1687–1734), *An Introduction to the making of Latin,* London, 1740; 36th ed., London, 1831.

[15] Edward Cocker (1631–1675). De Morgan questions Cocker's authorship of the Arithmetic, which ran through more than one hundred editions.

[16] (d. 1801), postmaster of the town from 1764 to his death. As bookseller he had a shop near the foot of Fish (now State) Street.

[17] Kneeland and Green had issued an edition of the *Call to the Unconverted* in 1731, the latest colonial edition noted in Evans. The first issue was Eliot's Indian translation, 1664, and four reprints of the English editions appeared before 1720.

[18] (1733–1803).

From Thomas Longman

London, February 18th, 1773.

Sr, — I Received Your favour of the 2d of November last Inclosing Thos. Boylston's Bill on Messrs. Champion and Dickason [19] for Two Hundred pounds Sterling and an Order for Books. I am perfectly satisfyed with your vindication of Yourself from all suspicion of underselling, it turns out just as I apprehended it would, and could proceed only from envy at Your prospect of success, but in justice to Messrs. C & B [20] I must assure You upon my word it did not come from them.

Inclosed is an Invoyce and Bill of Loading of five Trunks and a Box of Books Shipt on board the *Hayley,* Captain Scott, which hope will prove to Your satisfaction.

Inclosed is the State of Your Accounts to the end of the Year 1772 which hope You will find right and I am with the greatest regard, Sr., Your much obliged Humble Servt.

Thos. Longman.

From Andrew Oliver

Salem, 9 March, 1773.

Sir, Be so good as to send by the carrier to Salem the 6 Vol[ume]s of Doddridge on the New Testament [21] which you sent me to look of when I was confined with the Gout at Boston, if not already sold. Please to make them up in one bundle and direct them to the Revd. Asa Dunbar [22] at Salem, and add them to my account which will settle when I see you again, as I should have done before had not my indisposition prevented. The inclosed Letter is to be reinclosed in the bundle and sent to Mr. Dunbar therewith. If the Books are disposed of you will be kind enough to favr. me with a line inclosing the letter back to me again. I am, Sr., your most obedt. Servt.

A. Oliver.[23]

[19] Alexander Champion and Thomas Dickason.

[20] Probably Edward Cox and Edward Berry, booksellers in King Street, near the British Coffee-House, Boston, 1767–1773.

[21] Phillip Doddridge, *Family Expositor,* 1739–56, reissued in six volumes, 1760–62.

[22] Asa Dunbar (1745–1787), settled in 1772, as colleague in First Church of Salem.

[23] (1731–1799), judge of the Essex County Court of Common Pleas.

FROM BENJAMIN WEST

PROVIDENCE, March 11, 1773.

SIR, — I have sent you six pounds by Mr. Brown, which you will be pleased to credit my Acct. by; I have also sent for a few Articles, which I hope you will send by the Bearer, as low as you can possibly afford them, for that will have a tendency to encourage Business.

ARTICLES

Viz. 2 Thompson's Seasons.[24]
3 British Grammars.[25]
12 Addington on Infant Baptism. I think I saw one at Mr. Rowland's.[26]
13 Tans'ur's and William's Music bound together; I think some at Newbury these must come low, or I shall get nothing by them.[27]
1 Brooke's Gaziteer.[28]
3 Seaman's Assistant.[29]
3 Hervey's Meditations in one Volume.[30]
1 Case of Instruments, it must be a full Case, and Steel Joints; also one Case, full, and Brass Joints.

I am Sir, Your humble servant, BENJ. WEST.

[24] James Thomson, whose *Seasons,* in a collected form, first appeared in 1730. The first American edition was published at Philadelphia, in 1777, by Robert Bell.

[25] *The British Grammar; or an Essay . . . towards speaking and writing the English Language grammatically.* London, 1762.

[26] Stephen Addington, *The Christian Minister's Reasons for baptizing Infants.* London, 1771. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XL. 164.

[27] William Tans'ur (1699?–1783), who described himself as "psalmodist, philo music and theology, and professor, corrector, and teacher of musick above fifty years," published, in 1754–55, *The Royal Melody Compleat, or the New Harmony of Zion.* It was reprinted, Boston, by William M'Alpine for Daniel Bayley of Newburyport, and a third edition was dated 1767, the date of the first not being known. In 1769 the same publisher issued the work under a new title — *The American Harmony: or, Royal Melody complete,* with additions by A. Williams, teacher of psalmody in London. The work enjoyed great popularity, the ninth edition appearing in 1774.

[28] Richard Brookes, *The General Gazetteer,* London, 1762.

[29] *The Seaman's Daily Assistant; being a short, easy and plain Method of Keeping a Journal at Sea,* was a recognized work of merit and ran through many editions. Its authorship has been attributed to Thomas Haselden (d. 1740), but not on positive authority. A similar work was announced in London in March, 1772, by Richardson and Urquhart, entitled *The Practical Navigator and Seaman's New Daily Assistant,* the author being J. Hamilton Moore, teacher of Mathematics and late of the Royal Navy. That could hardly have been the work desired by West. *London Chronicle,* March 28, 1772. The older *Assistant* was reissued in 1777 in Philadelphia, by Joseph Crukshank.

[30] James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations.*

From Joseph Clarke

Northampton, March 22d, 1773.

Mr. Knox, Sir, I desire you to send by Mr. Strong the bearer hereof Goldsmith's Essays [31] 1 Vol. 12 mo. likewise the deserted Village [32] if you have them. Mr. Strong will sign in my name for the Magazines and pay you down 6/ desire you would wait a few days for the payment for the above books if you send them.

If you have Humes Essays 4 Vol. 12 mo. by you now I desire you would keep them for me till I can have a good opportunity to send for them I think you told me when I was there that the price of them was 24/. if I am mistaken in the price pray let me know it.

I should be glad to know the price of Lelands View of Deistical writers 2 Vol. 8vo. Search's light of Nature pursued 5 Vol.[33]

Your compliance with the above requests will greatly oblige yr. hble. sert.

Joseph Clarke.

From Andrew Oliver

Salem, 28 March, 1773.

Sir, — As I was looking a day or two ago in the Nautical Almanac for 1774, which I lately bought of you, for the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites for the Month of May, I found that two thirds of the Calculations for that Month are wanting, through the Carelessness of the Printer or of the Binder. This you are sensible is, in a Work of this Nature, a most essential Deficiency. Therefore I take the Liberty to return it, desiring you would exchange it for one that is compleat, as this will not answer the Purposes for which I bought it. Perhaps you may have one by you which has duplicates of these very Pages. I am, etc.

A. Oliver.[34]

[31] The *Essays* were issued in 1760 and 1770 in an edition of four volumes.

[32] *The Deserted Village* was first printed, London, 1770, and was promptly reprinted at Philadelphia in the following year, by the Bradfords.

[33] John Leland, *A View of the principal Deistical Writers*, 1754–56. The fourth edition, 1764, was in two volumes. Abraham Tucker (1705–1774) took the name Edward Search for his *Light of Nature pursued*, four volumes of which appeared in 1768.

[34] In April, 1772, Oliver had published *An Essay on Comets*. Salem, Printed and Sold by Samuel Hall, 1772. It was advertised in *Boston Gazette*, April 20, 1772, as on sale by Thomas and John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown, and by John Langdon, in Cornhill.

From Elijah Parsons

East Haddam, March 30, 1773.

Sir, — If the London Magazine is come to hand I should be glad you would send it me for as many Months of the current year as have yet arrived, by Mr. Lyon the Bearer.

I have sent no Money, but presume this will make no Difference as I shall soon discharge the account.

Pray be good eno' to give me a Line, and let me know whether Haweis' [35] Commentary has yet arrived and also the Price at which it may be afforded. I am Sir your Humble Servant

Elijah Parsons.

From Joseph Clarke

Northampton, April 8th, 1773.

Sir, — Recd. yours of the first Inst. this day and understand you have not Goldsmith's Essays or the deserted Village at present but expect them in the first Vessels. Desire you would send them when they come if you should have any opportunity.

I have a very good opportunity I think now to send for Hume's Essays by Mr. Smith. desire you to send them by him. The bigoted Attachment of the people in this part of the Country to the particular principles in Religion that they have been educated in, and the Infamy they would Cast upon a man who differed from them in so material a point as they would readily conclude he did were he known to be possessed of books of Theism, makes it absolutely necessary that the utmost precaution should be used in packing and bringing the books. I must therefore intreat of you not to spare any pains that can be reasonably taken in packing them so that the knowledge of what they are may be intirely concealed when they arrive here. I should be glad if you would get a box Just about large enough to hold Hume's Essays and Leland's View of Deistical writers, and if any of the other books I Wrote for are come, those too, and put in with them if you please on bunch of the best quils you have, one Vial of cephalic snuff,[36] and

[35] Thomas Haweis (1734–1820).

[36] Cox and Berry advertised in 1772: "The Cordial Cephalic Snuff, which is an effectual Remedy for most Disorders of the Head, especially the common Head-ach, to which it hardly ever fails giving immediate Ease, and by frequent Use prevents its Return. It removes Drowsiness, Giddiness &

one ounce of good rappee,[37] and fasten them up well, and send them all together by Mr. Smith who I doubt not will take care to bring them safe. And you will Oblige your humble servant.

JOSEPH CLARKE.

N.B. I hope it will not be long before I shall be able to satisfy you. Desire you to send a line. J. C.[38]

FROM BENJ. WEST

PROVIDENCE, April 12, 1773.

SIR, — I have sent you 12 Dollars, for which you will be pleased to give me Credit; and if it suits you shall be glad if you will send me the following Articles.

Viz. 6 Louth's English Grammars.[39]
6 Tans'ur's and Wm. Music bound together, and as cheap as you can afford.

Vapours, relieves Dimness of the Eyes, and is particularly excellent in curing recent Deafness, and in restoring the Memory when impaired by Disorders of the Head. It has a most grateful aromatic Smell, and is very proper for all Persons who visit sick Rooms and unwholesome Places." *Massachusetts Gazette,* May 28, 1774. It was also advertised by Martin Brimmer, of Newbury Street, who added as a recommendation: "Those who so far comply with that idle Fashion, as to take much of the common Snuff (& thereby injure both Head & Stomach) are desir'd to mix some of this Cephalic Snuff with what they take in common, and their bad Effects will, in some Measure, be prevented." *Ib.,* Dec. 10, 1772. In 1709 there was a "Most Excellent Chephalick Water, or Liquid Snuff." *British Apollo,* No. 4.

[37] Defined by the *Oxford Dictionary* as "a coarse kind of snuff made from the darker and ranker tobacco leaves, and originally obtained by rasping a piece of tobacco." Fifty-two grades of Snuff were advertised by Wimble, of London. *London Chronicle,* Feb. 15, 1772.

[38] "I understood by Mr. Smith that your Books were just come in when he was there and that you could not attend to put up mine that day without breaking thro' the Order of the Store. I am sorry it happened so; but he will be down again the beginning of June he tells me therefore I should be glad if you get them all ready by that time, and not send them before by any body for the reasons mentioned in my last letter.

"If you can conveniently pray send by Doctr. Hunt in a letter well sealed a list of the prices of those things I wrote you for, if you can send them all, if not as many as you Intend to send by Mr. Smith, so as that I may know how much money to send, for perhaps I may send the Money when I send for the books by him." Clarke to Knox, May 3, 1773.

[39] John Ash, *Grammatical Institutes; or, An easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar.* London, Edward and Charles Dilly, 1772.

1 Smith on the Nerves.[40]
1 Langley's Builder's Assistant 2 Vols.[41]
2 Watts Lyric Poems, Boston Edition.[42]

If you have any Books come to hand from London this Spring shall be glad to be informed of it; for, although I expect an Invoice of Books from London every moment, yet it is probable I shall want some Recruits from you, if you can supply me upon reasonable Terms. I am Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servt.,

BENJ. WEST.

FROM ANDREW OLIVER, JR.

SALEM, 19 April 1773.

SIR, — I received Your favr. wherein you acknowledge the Rect. of my Letter with Nautical Almanac, which you may return me with the missing half Sheet when it arrives, which I presume will be in Season for a particular purpose which I have in View.

I have occasion for the following Books which if you have by you, or any of them you will please to send them. If not to write for them per first Opportunity, viz.

Annual Register for 1771, — for 1772 if come to hand.
A Treatise of artificial Magnets by J. Michell. 2d Edition printed at Cambridge 1751. This I want much.[43]
Tables of Time by Gamaliel Smethurst (a Friend of mine). Printed by R. Whitworth, Manchester, without Date, Dodsley.[44]

Besides the above I should be glad if you could get for me the 5th Vol. of a Book entitled *A general Dictionary historical and critical.* Fol. which contains a Translation of Bayle's Biographical Dictionary, with great Additions by Messrs. *Bernard, Birch, Lockman, Sale,* &c., printed in London anno 1736. 1st. Edition. Printed by *James Bettenham,* for *G. Strahan, I Clarke, T Hatchet, I. Gray, I Batley, I Wood, I Shuckburgh, J. Wilcox, A. Millar, T. Osborne, I Brindley, C. Ward,* and *R. Chandler* all in London. The Reason

[40] Hugh Smith, *Essay on the Nerves.* London, [1780? in the British Museum Catalogue, but undoubtedly before 1774.]
[41] Batty Langley, *The Builder's compleat Assistant.* 3d ed., London, 1738.
[42] Isaac Watts, *Horæ Lyricæ,* printed in 1772, at Boston, by Daniel Kneeland.
[43] John Michell, *Treatise of Artificial Magnets.* Cambridge, 1750.
[44] Gamaliel Smethurst, *Tables of Time,* Manchester, [1749].

of my being thus particular is, I once had the set compleat, which is very valuable, in 10 Vols. Folio, the 5th of which I lost, I suppose when my house was burnt Anno 1760, as I have never seen it since. Mr. Condy [45] wrote for it once for me but could not get it, but if one can be obtained without giving an extravagant Price I should be glad once more to have the set compleated.

I forgot in the foregoing List to set down *Bunyans Pilgrims Progress,*[46] which, the Divinity aside, I admire as an Allegory. If you have a handsome Edition of it by you with Cuts please to send me one, if not, to write for it. I am your most obedt. Servt.

A. Oliver, jun.

[Note of Knox's Reply, on Same Sheet.]

So the Books you desired me to send for are not yet arriv'd. The nautical almanack was sent for before the others and it I shall expect very soon the others not till some time afterwards. I have taken the Liberty to send yr. accts. I shall take it as a particular favor if you would please to discharge it now as I am making up a Large Sum for Bills of Exchange which I've enga[ge]d. according to your request I've sent your accots. your Discharging of it will [*end of note.*]

From Thos. Longman

The following Magazines for March are put on board the *Dartmouth,* Capt Hall.

80 London [47]	20 Gentlemen [49]
60 Town [48]	4 Monthly Reviews [50]

[45] James Foster Condy, bookseller in Boston, in Union Street, opposite to the Cornfields.

[46] A thirty-second edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* appeared in 1771. The work had been reprinted at Boston, in 1681, by "Samuel Green upon assignment of Samuel Sewall and are to be sold by John Usher of Boston." A copy, believed to be unique, was sold by auction in December, 1916, for $1360, and may have been that once in the possession of George Brinley. Other colonial editions were: Benjamin Eliot's, Boston, 1706; Thomas Fleet's, Boston, 1738, Part I only; Fleet again in 1744, the seventeenth edition; and Christoph Sauer's German edition, taken from the thirteenth London edition, Germantown, 1755.

[47] *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer.* London, 1732–79.

[48] *The Town and Country Magazine.* London, 1769–91.

[49] *The Gentleman's Magazine.* London, 1731–

[50] *The Monthly Review.* London, 1749–1845.

4 Everymans Mags.[1] 15 Oxfords[4]
12 Universal[2] 4 Critical Reviews[5]
28 Ladys[3]
6 Shee Stoops to Conquer, a new Comedy by Dr. Goldsmith. retaild at 1/6 will be charged in your next.[6]

addition, according to your order of February 24. the 10 setts of Towns for 1772 will be sent by the [ ]

20 London Mags	Januy, February
10 Town	Do
3 Ladys	Do

LONDON, April 20, 1773.

SR, — I have Received your favour of the 24th of February Inclosing Mr. Thos. Boylston's Bill on Messrs. Lane and Co. for One Hundred Pound Stirling and an Order for Books.

The Books are getting ready and shall be sent as soon as possible. Am much obliged to you for this Remittance, and as there is a pretty large sum now due, hope You will do your utmost to make your further intended one, as considerable and expeditiously as possible to Your very much obliged Humble Serv.

THOS. LONGMAN.

FROM HENRY C. FLAGG

RIO ESSIQUIBO,[7] 3 May, 1773.

DEAR SIR, — You will receive by Capt. Brown, Chambers's Dictionary[8] in 2 Vols: Fol: which I beg you will bind in the strongest manner that can be done, and send them out by the first Vessel to Isaac Cape to Absalom Teagen Esqr. with your Account who will send the Amo: of it by the Return of the same Vessel. You will please to observe the Moisture of the Atmosphere is peculiarly injurious to the Binding of Books in this Country so that it

[1] *Every Man's Magazine.* London, 1771–72.
[2] *The Universal Magazine.* London, 1747–1815.
[3] *The Lady's Magazine.* London, 1770–1837.
[4] *The Oxford Magazine.* London, 1768–76.
[5] *The Critical Review.* London, 1756–1817.
[6] This play was twice reprinted in Philadelphia and once in New York in 1773.
[7] British Guiana.
[8] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia, or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* London, 1728, and in 1746 in a fifth edition.

requires more Care than those design'd for a dryer Climate. Mr. Teagen will send you either Rum Sugar or Molasses which is most agreeable. It will oblige me much if you will do these Books as they are for a Gen[tleman] who is particularly friendly to me. I am, Sir Yours, etc.

HENRY C. FLAGG.

FROM WILLIAM MILLER

NEWBURY PT 15th May, 1773.

SIR, — Since the British Magazine [9] is dropt, you may send me the London, or rather the Town and Country, if you [have] a sett not engaged. pray do you bind Magazines and Reviews, and at what price? I mean half bound and lettered. Please send me per first Conveyance four Marbled covered Books, two of one quire and two of 2 quires of the best Foolscap not ruled.

You will find our Coasters opposite Mr. Snelling's Store. I am Sir, Your etc.

WILLIAM MILLER.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

SIR, — I was two days ago favored with a Visit from Col. Oliver, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Williams. They saw some Irish Editions of Books at my house, and upon my intimating a wish to have a Correspondant at Boston, your name was mentioned with great Cordiality and patronage.

Some Medicines I want to have advertised and some Books in my possession would sell well there. I mean such as you hardly have any of, on the other side is a list of them.

The Medicines I would choose to have advertised very frequently at my own expence, one of them is Maredants Antiscorbutic Drops of which Mr. Fleeming sold for me.[10] If you are inclined to accept of a Commission for what you may sell for my

[9] Probably the *British Magazine, or Monthly Repository for Gentleman and Ladies*. Edited by Tobias Smollett assisted by Oliver Goldsmith. It ran from 1760–67, and no magazine of the name is listed for 1773 — the date of this letter.

[10] John Fleeming, printer and bookseller, who was associated with John Mein, 1765–69, in printing and in publishing the *Boston Chronicle*, 1767–70. Peter Roberts advertised Maredant's Drops in *Massachusetts Gazette*, March 18, 1773.

account, and to order any of the books on the other side I will send by the first opportunity agreeably to your Commands. Mr. Quincy most obligingly offered to undertake speaking to you on this subject of a Correspondance.

Pray be so kind as to write an answer to this Epistle. I am, Sir, Your etc.

JAS. RIVINGTON.
Bookseller & printer in New York.

N. Y., May 15, 1773.

	Price to you at 8/ a dollar
Voltaires Works 20 Volumes 12° the 36 London Volls included,	
Gilt and letered [11]	6. 0. 0
Spirit of Laws, 2 Volls. 12°	0.12 0
Aikinsides Poems 12° [12]	0. 5. 6
Peregrine pickle 2 Volls the 4 in 2	0.12. 0
Betsy thoughtless the 4 in 2 [13]	0.12. 0
Johnsons two Octavo Dictionaries in one very handsome large 8vo [14]	0.13. 0
Bougainvilles Voyage round World the English 25 *s.* Sterlg. 4° in one Octavo [15]	0.12. 0
Beccari[a] on Crimes Octavo [16]	0. 6. 6
Bathurst on trials at Nisi prius the English 4° of [£]1. 1. 0, in one octavo [17]	0.12. 6
Bells Travells the Engsh. 4° 2 Volls in 2 octavos	1. 0. 0
Sr. Michael Forster's Reports the English folio in 8vo [18]	0.10 0

[11] No American press touched Voltaire before 1778, when Robert Bell, of Philadelphia, issued *The Man worth Forty Crowns* and *Miscellanies,* both translated by Tobias Smollett and Thomas Franklin.

[12] Mark Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* was printed at Exeter, N. H., in 1794, by Henry Ranlet, just fifty years after its first publication in London. His collected poems were published by Jeremiah Dyson, his executor, in 1772.

[13] Perhaps *Betsey; or, The Caprices of Fortune.* London, T. and B. Jones, 1772.

[14] Four editions of Johnson's *Dictionary* had appeared before 1774, but none in one volume.

[15] Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage round the World,* translated by Johann Reinhold Forster. London, 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XLI (1772). 188.

[16] Cesare, Marquis Beccaria Bonesana, *Essay on Crimes and Punishments.* 3d. ed. London, 1770.

[17] Henry, Earl Bathurst, *Introduction to the Law relative to Trials at Nisi Prius.* London, 1767.

[18] Sir Michael Foster, *Report of Proceedings . . . for the Trial of the Rebels in 1746.* Oxford, 1762.

Davis's Reports the folio in Octo [19]	0.10. 0
Dalrymples Memoirs of the Affairs of England, Great Britain and Ireland the English 4° of [£] 1. 1. 0 in 8° at[20]	0.13. 0
Miss Williams a Novel in one Vol [21]	0. 5. 6
The Trial a Novell 3 Vols in 2 V [22]	0.11. 0
Jacob's Law Dictionary a much better than the London Edition, by Morgan Ruffhead, etc.[23]	3. 8.11
The Adventure of Christopher Crabb [24]	0. 5. 6
Memoirs of 2500 2 Volls [25]	0. 9. 0
Dr. Armstrong's Works 2 Volls [26]	0.11. 0
Young Misses Magazine 2 Volls [27]	0. 8. 6
Fashionable Lover,[28] False delicacy,[29] Almeida [Almida], Love in a Village, Lionel and Clarissa, Maid of the Mill,[30] Cymon,[31] The Brothers,[32] Man and Wife,[33] All in the Wrong, Orphan of China,[34] E[arl] Essex,[35] Roman Father Brothers,[36] The Miser,[37] The Good Natur'd man,[38] Falstaffe's Wedding,[39]	

[19] Sir John Davies, *Report of Cases.* Dublin, 1762.

[20] Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs.* Edinburgh-London, 1771–88.

[21] The *Memoirs of Miss Williams.* 2 vols. Johnson, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 457.

[22] *The Trial: Or, The History of Charles Horton. By a Gentleman. London Chronicle,* Jan. 4, 1772.

[23] Giles Jacob, *New Law Dictionary,* 9th ed., edited by Owen Ruffhead and J. Morgan. London, 1772. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLVI (1772). 457.

[24] *The Contemplative Man, or the History of Christopher Crab, Esq. of North Wales.* London, 1771. *London Chronicle,* Nov. 30, 1771.

[25] William Hooper, *Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Five Hundred.* London, Robinson, 1772.

[26] John Armstrong, *Miscellanies.* London, 1770.

[27] Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, *The Young Misses Magazine, Containing Dialogues between a Governess and several young Ladies of Quality her Scholars.* A second edition appeared in 1767. It was first published in French, *Magasin des Enfans,* London, [1760?]

[28] Richard Cumberland, *Fashionable Lover.*

[29] Hugh Kelly, *False Delicacy.*

[30] Isaac Bickerstaff, *Love in a Village, Lionel and Clarissa,* and *Maid of the Mill.*

[31] David Garrick, *Cymon.*

[32] Richard Cumberland, *The Brothers.*

[33] George Colman, *Man and Wife.*

[34] Arthur Murphy, *All in the Wrong, Orphan of China.*

[35] Henry Jones, *Earl of Essex.*

[36] William Whitehead, *Roman Father.* The word "Brothers" is probably a repetition of that covered in note 32, *supra.*

[37] Henry Fielding, *The Miser.* It is also the title of a play by Thomas Shadwell.

[38] Oliver Goldsmith, *Good Natured Man.*

[39] William Kenrick, *Falstaff's Wedding.*

Tom Jones,[40] West Indian,[41] Word to the Wise,[42] Clandestine Marriage,[43] Alonzo, by Hume, author of Douglass,[44] Midas,[45] all these at 9 shillings a Dozen neatly printed in 12°.

Irish Widow.[46] Padlock[47] Apprentice Upholster,[48] Honest Yorkshireman,[49] Lying Valet,[50] Citizen[1] Catherine and Petruchio, Peep behind Curtain, Miss in her Teens, Lethe,[2] Mayor of Garratt.[3] These Farces at 6 *s.* per Dozen.

From Daniel Fowle

Portsmouth, May 21, 1773.

Mr. Knox, Sir, — Yours of the 6th came to Hand, and am Sorry you are disappointed of the Payment you expected; but hope it will not be long; as it is the Nature of our Business, to credit out the chief of it for twelve Months — without Interest, though you must be paid according to Agreement. My Kinsman Robert Fowle[4] has been gone two or three Months to Philadelphia, and has just recovered of the Small Pox, or it is likely you would have been paid before this Time. I shall do all in my Power that it may be discharged as soon as possible. I am Sir, Your hum. Servant,

Danl. Fowle.

P.S. Mr. Oliver Whipple, who is Attorney to Robert, has some accounts, and Notes in his Possession, to collect some Monies to pay you. Mr. Whipple will be in Town next Week, and see you about the Affair.

[40] Joseph Reed, *Tom Jones*, a comic opera, 1769.
[41] Richard Cumberland, *West Indian.*
[42] Hugh Kelly, *A Word to the Wise.*
[43] George Colman and David Garrick, *Clandestine Marriage.*
[44] John Home, *Alonzo.*
[45] John Lyly, *Midas.*
[46] David Garrick, *Irish Widow.*
[47] Isaac Bickerstaff, *Padlock.*
[48] Arthur Murphy, *Apprentice, Upholsterer.*
[49] Henry Carey, *Honest Yorkshireman.*
[50] David Garrick, *Lying Valet.*
[1] Arthur Murphy, *Citizen.*
[2] David Garrick, *Catherine and Petruchio, Peep behind the Curtain, Miss in her Teens, Lethe.*
[3] Samuel Foote, *Mayor of Garratt.*
[4] Daniel and Robert Fowle were printers and publishers, with an office near the State House, Portsmouth, N. H., 1764–1775. Daniel Fowle had been a printer in that place as early as 1756.

From Benjamin West

Providence, May the 21, 1773.

Mr. Knox, Sir, — I have the disagreeable News to tell you that my whole Effects are seized, and myself confined to my House. The Case is this, I owed the Company of Browns a pretty large sum, and they making such proposals for security that I could not comply with, as they had a Tendency to throw all my other Credittors out of their due, and seeing what must be the Event, I shut up Shop, and secured myself, in order that my Credittors should come in for an Average; but, by some means or other, they found way into my Shop, and have secured all to themselves and scarce left me the necessaries of Life. I hope Sir, you will not drive upon me, for as your Accompt is not large, I trust some time or other I shall be able to secure you; I have to ask your Mercy and Compassion, and, as I trust you are a Gentleman of Tenderness, I hope you will treat me with Lenity. I am Sir, in the deepest distress, but am your real Friend and humble Servant.

Benj. West.

From William Wetmore

Salem, 22d May, 1773.

Mr. Knox, — If Wilkins' Anglo Saxon Laws [5] is a late Edition pray send it me by the Salem Stage with the Price. But if you think it will not answer for me pray let me know it.

I find that I cannot go to Boston so soon as I intended. I am as usual your friend, and very very humble Servant

W. Wetmore.

Pray tell me who wrote the Tragedy published at Boston by the Name of "Adulateur." [6]

From Joseph Clarke

N. Hampton June 1st, 1773.

Sir, — I now send for my books. desire you not to forget the quils I wrote before for, pray send the best you have, that is, one

[5] David Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ Ecclesiasticæ & Civiles*. London, 1721.

[6] Mercy Warren, *The Adulateur. A Tragedy, as it is now acted in Upper Servia*. Boston, 1773. It was advertised by Joseph Greenleaf in the *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1774, as "By a Lady."

bunch of them; I send the money by Mr. Smith, you will send a receipt no doubt. I dont understand your raising two Shills. in the price upon Lelands View of Deistical Writers, as from 18/. the price you mentioned in a former Letter to 20/. which is the price you have sent now in your last letter. I don't find any fault because I apprehend it is an extravagant price but why they should be worth two shills. more the 11th of May, than they were the first of April I dont see. You undoubtedly do, and so I should be glad to if you please.

You may remember perhaps that I wrote to you in a former letter about sending some snuff, I wrote to *you* because I did not know how to get it otherwise. I am sensible you dont deal in those articles Yet if it will not be too much trouble to you to send and get them and send them up with my books, I pray you would; to wit. 1 oz. of best Kippen snuff. 1 oz. of best rappee and one Vial of Cardial Cephalic snuff. Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH CLARKE.

FROM CHRISTOPHER BROWN

LONDON, June 2, 1773.

Mr. HENRY KNOX.

Bought of THOMAS LONGMAN

New Publications

		£	s.	d.
1 Herries Elements of Speech[7] 8vo. S. R. Lettd.		0.	3.	7
1 Essays from the Batchelors[8] 2v.	Do		5.	4
1 Fashionable Friend[9] 2v.	Do		5.	4
Charges of Shipping of Do. with Mags. for May			2.	–
		£	0.16.	3

SR, — The above with the Magazines and Reviews for May are put up in one paper parcel and directed for you as *Stores* also shipped on board Capt. Lyde,[10] who has not sailed so soon as was

[7] John Herries, *Elements of Speech.* London, Edward and Charles Dilly, 1773.

[8] *Essays from the Bachelor, in Verse and Prose. By the Authors of the Epistle to G. E. Howard.* Dublin, printed; London, reprinted for T. Becket, 1773. *London Chronicle,* May 25, 1773.

[9] *The Fashionable Friend* is noticed in *London Magazine,* XLII (1773). 302.

[10] Nathaniel Byfield Lyde.

Expected when we shipped the former goods. Callahan & Symes [11] arrived here a few days since. I am, for T. Longman, Sir, Your most obedient Servt.

CHRIST. BROWN.[12]

LONDON, June 4, 1773.

FROM MOSES M. HAYS

357 NEW PORT, June: 21. 1773.

SIR, — I Purpose pursuing the Stationary and Book Selling Buisness in this Town. My Supplies I have Chiefly from one of the Best Hands in New York. But as I require some articles Daily, I should be glad to have A Correspondence with you for some Articles, as you are so adjacent; My Friend Mr. P. Mumfords [13] Tells me you have Continually a large Assortment. If you Can have Confidence Enough to furnish me with some articles from time to time on the Credit of about Six Months, shall be Glad you would signify the same by return of Mr. Mumford, of whom you can make the Enquiry you may think necessary and am, Sir, yr. Hble. servt.,

MOSES M. HAYS.[14]

FROM R. B. NICKOLLS

SALEM, Monday 28. June 73.

SIR, — I beg you would by return of the stage tomorrow send me what reviews may be due to me also Knox's history of Greece, Goldsmith's abridgment 'tis either of his English or Roman his-

[11] John Callahan and Ebenezer Symmes.

[12] "Have been much deceived by Captain Lyde about the time of his Sailing, which He told me would certainly be the latter end of last Month, or would have put the goods on board the *Dartmouth,* Captain Hatch, but hope He will not stay many Days longer. The Captains that your Magazines are sent by for the future shall be particularly requested to put them in the Cabin, or such other part of the Ship that they may be got at immediately on their arrival." Longman to Knox, June 16, 1773.

[13] Peter Mumford.

[14] In the *Massachusetts Gazette,* Oct. 7, 1771, was a notice to the creditors of Moses M'Hays and Myer Pollock of Newport, "Merchants in Company" who had become insolvent. Hays had been in correspondence with James Rivington, who was, doubtless, intended by "one of the Best Hands in New York."

tory,[15] and charge them to me — also two or three Latin books called Selectae e prophanis historiis, if you have not these I should be glad you would procure them for me. I am Sir, Your hble Servt.

R. B. NICKOLLS.

P.S. Also 2 Ashe's introduction to Lowth's Gramr.[16] 2 or 3 Lily's Gram[mar].[17]

FROM J. GRAVES

PROVIDENCE, July 2, 1773.

SIR, — I had not the Pleasure of seeing you in your Shop, when lately in Boston, tho' twice there.

I want, at present, 2 of Jenks's Devotions,[18] also, for a Friend, a Powder Machine for Wigs; for which per Bearer, Mr. Cumstock, with a Bill, I'll immediately send you the Money.

If you have receiv'd, from Home, *such* a Latin Thomas a Kempis, as I formerly mention'd, not only in Chapters, but *Verses*, please to let it accompany the above.*

And thus, Sir, with all good Wishes for your temporal and spiritual Happiness, inseperably connected, I rest Your very hble Servt.

J. GRAVES.

FROM EBEN COFFIN

MARLBRO', July 7th, 1773.

DEAR SIR, — The last time I Had the pleasure of seeing you, you where so kind as to say If I sent my Violin &c to your Store that you would dispose of the same for me. I Have given the bearer orders to leave the same with you and Begg the Favour of you to

[15] *Dr. Goldsmith's Roman History, abridged by himself for the Use of Schools.* London, S. Baker and G. Leigh, 1773.

[16] John Ash (1724?–1779). The Introduction appeared in 1766.

[17] William Lily (1468?–1522),

"You will excuse the Liberty I shall take in requesting the favour of you to send me up by the Carrier a Catalouge of the Newest Plays, and Novels you have got.

"I have taken this freedom as my Brother informed me you had the newest things of the kind that came out." Richard Nickolls to Knox, July 6, 1773.

[18] Benjamin Jenks, *Prayers, and Offices of Devotion,* of which the twentieth edition appeared in 1780.

* wrapt up, *seal'd,* ty'd, and directed.

dispose of it if a purchaser presents; and I will make you Satisfaction, and will take it out in your Store in Books for what it may sell.

It was purchas'd for me in England some years since by a particular Friend and is by Judges Esteemed a very Fine Ton'd Instrument and has not been Abused.

It cost me in England Four Guinuas and a Half with the Bow; please to do the best you can with it; which will be gratefully Acknowledg'd by, Sir, Your Most Obedt. Servt.

EBEN COFFIN.

P. S. Please to send me by the Bearer as many Numbers of the most Entertaining Magazine as you have rec'd from England this Year. The Town and Country Magazine or any other that you may Judge Entertaining and when the rest of the Numbers Arrive will take the remainder of the Sett.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, Jany. [July], 15, 1773.

SIR, — In consequence of your Consent to Mr. Quincy's application on my behalf, I have directed my Newspapers to your Care, and intreat the favor of you to let them be delivered to the Subscribers at Boston.

They have hitherto been sent to the postoffice, but the demands of the postmaster for delivering them being more than the proceeds of the subscription, I must beg to be beholden to your Kind attention and will allow you a reasonable consideration for doing it.

I am much straightned for time at present or would write upon other matters of Bussiness, but will take an early opportunity to do it. In the mean time I beseech you to let it be made known to the Subscribers that the papers in future will be delivered by yourself. I have forwarded a List of the Subscribers' names to each of whom a paper is to be delivered. When you mention what I am to pay for you[r] kindly undertaking this good office for me pray include that of Collecting the Subscriptions annually, as the Names are very respectable it is hoped little trouble will arise on that account. I beg you will command every ability in my sphere to serve you and I am, sir, your most obed. and obliged servant,

JAMS. RIVINGTON.

Pray charge me with the Postage of this Letter. Please to turn over. Upon an arrival at Boston I shall be very much obliged to you to send me any of the latest newspapers or such occurrances per post as may assist me with intelligence, but pray observe that there must be nothing wrote within the Cover that Contains the Newspapers to prevent the Charge of postage, and that one side of the pacquet of printed papers be cutt a slit into with a pair of scissors. You have generally earlier arrivals and Intelligence from England than we have which occasions my applying for this Favor.

Be pleased to present my very humble Respects and a thousand thanks to Good Mr. Quincy for his gracious attention to my request. I sincerely wish my papers being delivered by you may be a means to doing some material service to you in your business.[19]

FROM NEHEMIAH WILLIAMS

HADLEY, July 20, 1773.

SIR, — Herewith I send Ten Dollars, and desire you to send me Crudens Concordance,[20] and Dr. Dodds common Place book to the Bible.[21] What the Price of the latter is I could not tell, therefore have sent the above Money, and desire you to send the Account of the cost and if the Money is not sufficient I will send the Ballance very soone. I rely Sir upon your Honor that you will send me the Books as good, and as low prised as if I was present. You doubtless remember that I purchased Books of you last year to the vallue of Nine or ten pounds, and as I found you Honble then, hope I shall Now also. If you are willing to send me the following Books viz.

[19] This letter is plainly dated Jany. 15, 1773; the endorsement reads July 15, 1773. Rivington issued, Feb. 15, 1773, proposals for a weekly newspaper and inserted it in the *Massachusetts Gazette,* March 18, 1773. On April 22 appeared the first number of *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer: or the Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser* — destined to be one of the important journals printed in the Colonies until its death in Nov., 1783. As the letter speaks of papers having already been sent through the post-office to subscribers, the date could hardly have been January, before the prospectus had been issued. The month of the endorsement is accepted, for Knox showed considerable diligence in filing his correspondence.

[20] Alexander Cruden's *Concordance to the Bible* had appeared in 1761 and 1769.

[21] William Dodd, *A Common-Place Book of the Bible,* Revised by W. D. 1766.

Dodds Sermons to Young Men. 3 Vols. 12 mo.[22]
Dr. Jortins Sermons, 4 vols. 8vo.[23]
Haweis Sermons 1 vol. 8vo.[24]
and Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History [25]
at the Cash price, I will promise that you shall have the Money within three Months, if not sooner, together with the Interest till paid. I am, Sir, Your very Humbl Servant.

NEHEMIAH WILLIAMS.

P. S. If you send all the above Books, please to put them in a Box.[26]

FROM JOHN MURRAY

BOOTHBAY, July 27th, 1773.

SIR, — The Copies of the Classical authors you sent by Capt. McFarland were so incorrect as to determine the overseers to apply to another bookseller; what I have wanted for myself, that had not been preengaged, I have sent for since, from your store, by several hands, who, carrying the cash, did not mention my name:

Pleased with the Copies, and prices, I mean to try to take, at my own risk, a few for the Academy that are now wanted; and, as I hope they will be of the best edition and lowest price, it is not improbable they may be the means of restoring you our little custom.

Please to send the bill of parcel, and charge the books to me; be so good as to inform me whether you can supply me with the following and at what prices.

De la Cerda's Virgil: [27] Dacier & Sannadon's Horace [28]
Do. Homer's Iliad. Anc[ien]t and modern Universal history.

[22] William Dodd, *Sermons to Young Men.* London, 1771, and a second edition in 1772. Noticed in *London Magazine,* XL (1771). 226.

[23] John Jortin, *Sermons on Different Subjects.* [Edited by Rogers Jortin.] 7 vols. London, 1771–72. Noticed in *Monthly Review,* XLIV (1771). 362.

[24] Probably Thomas Haweis, *Evangelical Principles and Practice: being fourteen Sermons . . .* London, 1762.

[25] Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History.* London, 1765.

[26] July 22, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, notified Knox that the June magazines and reviews had been shipped on the *Thomas,* Captain John Callahan.

[27] Joannes Ludovicus de la Cerda. The work was first issued in 1612.

[28] André Dacier, and Noël Étienne Sanadon. *Œuvres d'Horace en Latin, traduites en Français.* 1735.

Stanley's lives of the philosophers [29] and one pair of 18 inch Globes. I should be glad to know where I may direct to the Revd. David Maccluer: I am, Sir, Your most obedt. humble Servant.

JNO. MURRAY.[30]

N. B. The list is inclosed.

FROM JOHN VINAL

NEWBURY PORT Augt. 6, 1773.

SR, — Mr. Dalton informed me that you had a Sett of Globes (which came over by Mistake) that you would dispose of at the Sterling Cost and Charges. I was just going to write to London for such a Sett; but if you have not disposed of yours, and the price is agreeable, and they are the right sort I will purchase them. I should be glad of a Line immediately; you may inclose one to me directed to my Friend Mr. Wm. Millen Collector. I should be glad to know the following particulars, vizt. Whither they are Senex's [31] Globes — who they are made by, if they have a Magnetic Needle and Card, if they have a Nonius Scale [32] and Analemma, Quadrant of Altitude, etc. and what Cases they are in. Your humble servant,

JOHN VINAL.[33]

P. S. Please to express the Price either in Sterling or L[awful] M[one]y.[34]

[29] Probably, Thomas Stanley, *History of Philosophy*, first issued in 1655–61, and a fourth edition in 1743.

[30] The little that is known of the Rev. John Murray is in Greene, *History of Boothbay*, etc., 592.

[31] John Senex (d. 1740), cartographer and engraver.

[32] Named after Pedro Nuñez (1492–1577), a Portuguese mathematician. Ann and George Adams, of 60 Fleet Street, London advertised "New Globes, Elegantly mounted and neatly coloured," at prices from three guineas for six-inch diameter, to nine guineas, for eighteen-inch. *London Chronicle*, Feb. 9, 1773.

[33] School teacher in Newburyport.

[34] Sept. 3, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, notified Knox that the August magazines and reviews had been shipped in the *Beaver*, Captain Jethro Coffin; and on Oct. 4, that the periodicals for September had been placed on the *William*, Captain Loring. "Capt. Scott has been windbound at Cowes almost a month, and *Beaver Coffin* in the Downs near 3 Weeks."

From Henry Sherburne

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Nov. 4, 1773.

Sir, — Please to mark the following books at the lowest, if you have them; If not, favour me with a List of what books you have of the Story-telling Sort with the lowest price, to any person that buys 20 Vols, 12 mo.

Shall be glad to know next post, As I have the offer of some very reasonable I am, Sir your obedt. Servt.

Henry Sherburne.

1 Batchelor of Salamanca,[35] 1 Anacreon, 1 Dicky Gotham and Doll Clod, 1 Tristam Shandy, 1 Peregrine Pickle. 1 Collection of Stories, 2 Vols. 1 Dodsley's Collection of Letters, printed about the end of last Century, In which are Rochester's Letters to his Friend Henry Saville.[36]

From James Putnam

Worcester, —— 13th 177[3].

[Send b]y the barer the books you imported [for me sa]fely inclosed and secure from wet, with an [account] of the cost which shall be sent you by the [first o]ppertunity after the rect of the Books.

You may inclose with the above, the Voiage[37] of Banks and Solander,[38] which add to the acct. of your most humble servt.

James Putnam.

Mr. Clark Chandler.

If you have any Team going to Boston this Week, I beg the favour that the Carter may bringg me the box with the small Number of books to be inclosed. Yr. Servt. J Putnam.

[35] By Alain René Le Sage.

[36] *Familiar Letters,* collected by Tom Brown, 1685.

Nov. 2, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, wrote to Knox that the magazines for October had been shipped by the *Lydia,* Captain [Joseph?] Hood: "this is the last Ship, therefore am afraid we shall not have any oppurtunity of forwarding the other months til after Christmas."

[37] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages . . . for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere.* London, 1773.

[38] Daniel Charles Solander (1736–1782), the botanist on Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour.*

From Robert Fowle

Portsmouth, Nov. 5th, 1773.

Sir, — Your favour per last post recd. and it has given me much uneasiness. Your Debt is not paid. But you must now Sir, I was absent all the last Summer, and having left all these affairs with my late Partner, which he was to settle, and is in fact his own Debt, tho. my Name is connected with it.

You are misinformed of much money be[ing] collected, — tho. a large sum is due to us, as he was obliged to take many Notes &c in lieu of money. But not to detain you with what is not really to the Point, be assured, I shall not neglect to see this Matter Discharged, which should have been paid before, and only beg a little more of your Patience, which will oblige, Sir, your most humble Sert — in much haste,

Robt. Fowle.

From Daniel and Robert Fowle

Portsmouth, Decmr. 9th, 1773.

Mr. Knox, Sir, — We received your Favor by Mr. Bean, and are sorry cannot send your Money, which ought to have been paid before this Time; and have not any at present worth sending. However, are daily in Expectation of receiving some, and hope you will forbear a little while longer, tho are sensible Persons in Trade, want their Money after a reasonable Credit, and we are pretty confident, if we should fail of our present Hopes, you may depend upon it when our General Assembly Sits, which will be next Month, tho intend to discharge it before, and hope you will not put us to Trouble, as we are determined to retrieve our Credit with you, and have further Dealings, especially in printing Paper, when you have any of the Crown, Pot, or Demy Size, and give Notice of it. We are Sir, Your humble servants

Danl. & Robert Fowle.[39]

[39] "You may remember I spoke to you the last Summer respecting your Demands against Messrs. Fowles. I now am about closing their Affairs, and if you will send me their Note, I will either endeavour to Stop the Money or to take them, and hold them to Bail at our next Court, if you transmit it in Season by the Post, I dare say it may be recover'd this Winter. N.B. I have given up their Powers to me for doing their Business." Oliver Whipple to Knox, Dec. 17, 1773.

From James Rivington

Sir, — I would long ago have sent you the Irish Editions [40] you wanted but on examining found I had no quantity to make up a parcell so deferred it untill I got supplied which I expect very soon, and will then send what I can with some of Lelands Ireland in 3 Volls 8vo,[41] which sells greatly in Dublin.

I now trouble you with 6 Dozen of my Almanack [42] with a list of the whole American Army Subalterns included which never was done before and will be much demanded by the Military, pray be so kind as to push the sale of them as much as you can they cost you 8 *s.* per Doz York and are sold for 14 Coppers Each.

I also have sent a parcell for Dr Philips at Halifax Nova Scotia which I intreat the favor of you to forward by the first opportunity.

You will receive likewise some of Dr. Keyser's Pills [43] viz. 6 Boxes at 40 *s.* 12 Do at 20 *s.* 24 Do at 10 *s.* N. York Currency. An Allowance of 20 per Cent I shall make you for selling and will very soon send you an advertisement of them. they cure great

[40] Issues by the Irish publishers were cheaper than the London editions as book-piracy prevailed.

[41] Thomas Leland, *History of Ireland, from the Invasion of Henry II.* London, 1773, reprinted in Dublin.

[42] *Rivington's Gentleman and Lady's Pocket Almanack, By Copernicus Philomath.* New York: Printed by James Rivington, at the Corner of Queen Street, facing the North Front of the Coffee-House. It is advertised by Knox in *Massachusetts Gazette,* Jan. 13, 1774.

[43] In the *Massachusetts Gazette,* June 29, 1772, "Dr. Keyser's celebrated Pills" were advertised by M[ichael] Burrell Goldthwait, with a shop near the Mill-Bridge. The advertisement included an elaborate statement by Dr. Hammond Beaumont, surgeon of H. M. 26th Regiment, then in garrison at New York, of the case of Thomas Flackfield, a private in that regiment. "He began to take Dr. Keyser's remedy on the 26th of December, 1771, and continued them according to the Doctor's own directions, till the 28th of April, 1772, during which period he had taken 1107 pills, all which Mr. James Rivington, Bookseller in New York, presented him with, he having a correspondence with Dr. Keyser." In further proof Rivington offered to give the medicine to a chosen patient, in the worst situation, provided it was "administered by a physician of reputation, and the exact regimen be observed by the sufferer." The pills were endorsed by Dr. John Kearsley of Philadelphia. *Ib.,* July 20. The sale seems to have remained in Goldthwait's hands until December, 1773, when Edes and Gill, the printers, advertised that they were selling it under a certificate of the Widow Keyser. *Boston Gazette,* Dec. 13, 1773. It may have been this competition that led Rivington to make his offer to Knox, who advertised them in the *Massachusetts Gazette,* March 3, 1774, with "The never-failing Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog, Prepared by William Hill, Esq; of Omskirk, Lancashire."

numbers to the astonishment of the Faculty when the usual Processes fail. I will write to you again and I am, Sir, Your most obed. Servt.

JA. RIVINGTON.

N YORK, Dec. 28, 1773.

FROM ANDREW OLIVER, JR.

SALEM, 9th Jany, 1774.

SIR, — I beg the favr. of a line from you acquainting me whether the Books etc. are come which I desired you last Feby. to write for; as if they are, I should be glad to have them, especially the deficient sheet of the Nautical Alminac for 1774, which year has now commenced: And you must be sensible that no person who knows the use of such publications would knowingly purchase one so incomplete.

As you doubtless have my letter by you relative to the premises I would beg the favr. of an answer respecting each Article. I am, Sir, Your most humble Servt.

A. OLIVER.[44]

FROM JOSEPH CLARKE

NORTHAMPTON, Jan. 18th, 1774.

SIR, — I should be glad if you would send me a blank Manuscript book, which contains about a quire and an half of paper in it. I would have it made of the largest paper in quarto that is what I call the largest, which will make the book about ten Inches in length, and Eight in breadth, and without any lines made in it at all. If you have not any already made of the above size, as I suppose you have not, I should be glad if you would get one made by Mr. Berkley the book binder, or, if it suits you best by some other book binder. Mr. Lyman the bearer hereof will stay in Boston some time I suppose. I should therefore be glad if you would get it ready to send by him when he comes out. I shall desire him to wait on you for that purpose when it shall suit you best.

If you desire it Mr. Lyman will pay you, otherwise this shall be your security for future payment, by your obliged friend & servt.

JOSEPH CLARKE.

[44] He wrote on the same matter again March 7.

N. B. I should be glad you would take pains to get it well bound, and neatly finished and you will greatly oblige yours &c. J. C. Pray send a minute of the price.

From James Rivington

Upon my Honour, Good Mr. Knox, I have no Connection with Mess. Edes & Gill, and be assured that they have not one of the Pills I advertise and which I imported directly from Keyser, whose Certificate I have expressive of the Genuineness of those sent to you. I leave to you to take the properest methods of rendering them as saleable as possible, and desire the Expence may be charged to me.

As to Leland, I shall have the Doctor's own Octavo Edition by Whitsuntide. I refused a Share in Robert Bell's [45] I have inserted your name to Leland in my paper and I freely offer you any advantage that a mention of it there may afford you; so pray tell me how I may serve you, for I am most sincerely disposed to do it in the most effectual Manner.

Pray send me Half a Dozen Setts of Gov. Hutchinsons History of N. England bound,[46] and Two Dozen of Williams and Tansurs' Psalmody bound.

I added your name also to Dalrymple's Memoirs, which I expect (including the 2d and 3d Octavo Volumes) at the same time with Leland. I am, Dear Sir, Your much obliged Servt.

Ja. Rivington.

N. York, Jany 21, 1774.

I shall send Leland and Dalrymple, etc. per first opportunity.

Do you sell any cheap fiddles. If you were to deal in the Music Branch it would be a profitable addition to your others I will assist you if you please in concerting.

Pray let me know when you shall want any more Pills and I can get them to you per post.

As it may be of use to you with his Excellency Gov. Hutchinson and your other friends to Convey to them the Pensilvania Ex-

[45] Thomas Leland's *History of Ireland,* in four volumes. Although Hugh Gaine and John Dunlap's names are on the title, the undertaking was wholly Bell's.

[46] The first volume of Hutchinson appeared in 1764, and the second in 1767, both printed and published by Thomas and John Fleet.

amination into the Claim of Connecticutt on the Subject of their Dispute [47] I have forwarded one to you by the post as an earnest of my Disposition to accommodate and oblige you. I will also take other opportunities of shewing you my attention.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, Feb. 6. 1774.

SIR, — I beg the favor of you to advertise the enclosed in just the same manner as tho it were your own book. I presume to hope it will sell very well, it will be finished this Spring barring an unforeseen accident. I have an engraver from London engaged upon the Cutts; I shall allow you Twenty per Cent for all you may be pleased to order. I shall deliver the book in two Volumes on a very full Charged page in long primer Duodecimo sewed and covered with Marble paper, for we have no decent Bookbinder in all our Government. Pray be so obliging as to use your utmost diligence in promoting the sale of this Book, and afford me an opportunity of proving usefull to you. I leave the choice and number of Newspapers, in which to advertise this undertaking, to your own discretion as you must be the best judge in this Case.[48] it is a book Calculated for every reader, will be very cheap and I am in hopes your Demand to supply the Country, where your Connections extend, will be very considerable. I humbly flatter myself Col. Oliver and Mr. Quincy even if they have the London Copy, may give Countenance to, and recommend, the Edition now proposed for public approbation. Pray favor me with a Letter and your Opinion upon this matter.

If you think proper I wish you would likewise advertise Keyser's Pills, just as it stands in the front of my last paper Viz. Feb. 3d, the Choice of the paper must be left to yourself. I am printing Herveys meditations among the Tombs etc Complete the Two English Volumes in one neat 12° Volume which shall be sold to you at 2:6 New York Currency in sheets, if you are inclined to take some of them. The Book will be finished very soon. I have also printed the Meditations among the Tombs alone and sell it for 1 *s.* New York Currency sewed in strong paper.[49] Many poor people

[47] William Smith, *Examination of the Connecticut Claim to Lands in Pennsylvania.* Phila.: 1774.

[48] Hawkesworth's *A New Voyage round the World.* The advertisement appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette,* April 7, 1774.

[49] Rivington did not print the *Meditations* complete, but in 1778 Hugh Gaine, of New York, printed the *Meditations and Contemplations,* in two volumes. No copies of the two tracts Rivington offers to Knox are known.

will readily purchase this who cannot afford to buy the whole at once and the Pedlars will sell great Numbers of it. If you choose to have some of these I will sell them to you for 7 shillings New York Currency per Dozen neatly sewed up covered with strong blue Covers, as above mentioned. The Contemplations on the night I also can sell alone at the same rate. I shall be happy to receive your orders for these Articles of which you might, I apprehend sell great quantities.

Upon further thoughts, if you think it would be attended with some good effect I wish you would get a quantity as 500 or 1000 of the proposals printed and distributed over the Countries including Halifax and N. Hamshire for which be pleased to make me your Debtor. I am pretty Confident the pains and expence will be answered with advantage.

Feb. 10. 1774.

Last night I saw in Drapers Paper an advertisement of a Collection of Circumnavigations,[50] which has occaseoned me to get a proof ready to send to you which I have done by this post. It contains my proposal which I must leave entirely to your own management to get either printed alone or else inserted in the best distributed Newspapers, and I have come to a resolution to push this matter as far as possible. Therefore If you think it most advisable towards the exciting an Attention to my design and raising a very large Subscription I would have you to print one two or three Rheams of the proposals to distribute all over your extensive Connections. If you find you are likely to have a very considerable Demand, I mean for some hundred, I will sell them to you for A Dollar a Sett in sheets.

The Proof sent by the post is not corrected so that before you give it out of your hands to reprint pray let it be nicely corrected.

I shall be impatient for the favor of your answer. Pray oblige me with a letter and your sentiments as soon as possible I am in great Haste, Sir, Your obliged Humble servt.

JA. RIVINGTON.[1]

[50] Cox and Berry advertised "An entire New Work, to be Compleated in 48 Numbers, each Number containing Forty-Pages of Letter Press Octavo, and a beautiful Copper Plate Print, Price only 8 *d.* Lawful Money. An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World" — the work which Rivington intended to reprint. Fourteen numbers had been issued at the time of the Advertisement. *Massachusetts Gazette,* Feb. 3, 1774.

[1] On the outside of letter: The Numbers in the Proposals viz. No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, stand for directings to give precedence to the several paragraphs.

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN

LONDON, February 21, 1774.

SIR, — I have Received Your favours of Novemr. 18 and Decemr 21. 1773. Inclosing an Order which is getting ready with all expedition. Am sorry it is out of my power to forward it by this Conveyance, but you may rest assured no time has or shall be lost.

Your favor of the 21st of January Inclosing a Bill on Harrison & Ansley [2] for Four Hundred pounds Stirling and an Addition to Your former Order is Received. You may be perfectly assured that I entertain the highest opinion of Your Friendly regard and am quite satisfyed that nothing on your part will be wanting to make your Remittances as seasonably as possible and that I remain with implicit confidence, Sr., Your very much obliged Humble Servt.

THOS. LONGMAN.

LONDON, March 16, 1774.

SIR, — Above is a Copy of my last.

I now inclose an Invoyce and Bill of Loading of your last Order which is pack't up in Eight Trunks and Shipt on board the *Boston Packet,* Captain Lyde, which hope will please.

The Public Advertiser in which Junius's Letters were inserted comes out Daily, but if you think it will answer your purpose it shall be forwarded with the Magazines. Pray be so kind as to deliver the small Box Directed for Mr. Joseph Barrell [3] when called for, and excuse the liberty taken by, Sr., Your very much obliged Humble Sert.

THOS. LONGMAN.

FROM ROBERT FOWLE

PORTSMOUTH, March 10th, 1774.

SIR, — You undoubtedly remember, that you have a Note of Mine and my Uncle's, and it being my desire it should be speedly paid, as I want you should have the Money and myself clear of the Matter, and my Uncle being the Person to pay it, having all the Partnership Effects in Hands. Wish you would send the said Note

[2] Of 50 Bread Street, London. 1 *Proceedings,* XVI. 98.

[3] Merchant of Boston. See his advertisement in *Massachusetts Gazette,* March 31, 1774.

to some Friend here, in doing which you will both oblige yourself and me as my Uncle [will] the sooner see it settled when he knows the Note is in Town and you urge for the Money. it was not in my Power to have done otherwise, or I assure you, the money would have been sent long since as I requested my Uncle to see you paid one of the first few Debts we owed. I am now here, and wish the Note might come by the next Post, and will endeavour that it be speedily paid. Your humble Servant

ROBT. FOWLE.

P. S. You need not say I desired it sent, but if it comes it will help forward the payment. Much is due to our Partnership, but difficult to collect it.

FROM BULKELEY EMERSON

NEWBURYPORT, March 11, 1774.

SIR, — Please to send me by Mr. Davis 500. Dutch Quills at about 3/ per hund'd, 1 sett Harveys Dialogues,[4] 1 sett Family Instructor [5] 3 Paridice Lost, 3 Pilgrim Progress, 6 small Pockett Bibles claspt plain Binding. I shall send you the pay soon. Please to send a Bill of them. I am Yr. humble Servt.

BULKELEY EMERSON.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, March 17, 1774.

SIR, — I thank you for the assurances you give me of promoting my Interest in the Voyages which are going on as fast as possible. Pray desire Mr. Revere to send me the price of such a plate as the Storm and also of the Head and how long he will be employed in executing each of them. I desire to know if it will be agreeable to you to have your Name inserted in the title page of each of the Books. I shall print viz. Lord Chesterfields Letters,[6] Dialogues on the Laws and Constitution of Great Britain [7] and the Voyages.

[4] James Hervey, *Theron and Aspasia: or, a Series of Dialogues and Letters.* London, 1755, and again in 1772.

[5] Daniel Defoe, *The Family Instructor,* the fifteenth edition of which appeared in 1761.

[6] The Letters did not appear until 1775, Hugh Gaine being associated with Rivington in the publication. They had been printed in London, December, 1773, by J. Dodsley.

[7] *Eunomus: or Dialogues,* with an "Essay on Dialogue," in four volumes,

I send by this Post copies of Herveys Meditations and of his First Contemplation, which I sell for 1 *s.* York Each and shall Charge you Seven shillings a Dozen so that you may be able to allow a profit to the Hawkers and Country shop Keepers. Pray let me know if you can sell and would have any of them with the Connecticutt Claim by Barnard's Sloop.

I am printing many little Children's books and send a specimen of Robn. Crusoe with your name in the title. These I will send you cheaper than you can import them. Pray favor me with your answer and your orders. Please to insert my advertisement in Mr. Drapers Paper and let it be just Copied from the new one sent with the Books.[8] Leaving out all the book selling names except your own and, Sir, Your obliged H. Servant,

JA. RIVINGTON.

[On outside of letter.]

Pray add to the Advertisement.

Speedily will be published

LORD CHESTERFIELDS LETTERS to

his Son Phillip Stanhope, Esq. together with several other pieces on various Subjects

Published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope.

DIALOGUES on the LAWS and CONSTITUTION of GREAT BRITAIN the above Articles will be delivered at very moderate prices being printed on the same plan with the above mentioned V[olume.]

The Post as promised to look after the News Papers No. 46 and bring them to you.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, March 21, 1774.

SIR, — Enclosed you will receive Six Lottery Tickets No 1005, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025 agreeably to your orders just now received.

I wrote to you by the last post to which I beg Leave to refer you.

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was issued in London, December, 1773, printed for Benjamin White, at Horace's Head, in Fleet Street. *London Chronicle,* Dec. 14, 1773. The author was Edward Wynne.

[8] See *Massachusetts Gazette,* April 7, 1774.

I have sent the Six Account of the Connecticutt Claim by Mr. Barnard,[9] Son of Sr. Francis your Comptroller, who will shortly be with you via Rhode Island. I now send an Excellent Travestie of the 4th Book of the Æneid, but am ashamed of my friend Wells's Price which he says is 4 shillings New York currency.[10] If you could, at this excessive rate, dispose of any of them I will send you some Copies, and require that a decent allowance may be made by Mr. Wells, of which more hereafter. Indeed it is a good travestie and for that reason I send it per post. I am, Sir, Your most obed and obliged servt.

JA. RIVINGTON.

I doubt not you will raise a Considerable Subscription for my Voyage.

FROM WRIGHT & GILL

LONDON, Mar. 24th, 1774.

SIR, — Agreeable to your Promise we expected that you would Certainly have remitted us Considerably before this and are very Sorry to find ourselves mistaken. If You examine into the Account, it will appear there is upwards of £350 Which has been standing on Credit more than 2 Years. You are Sensible that the Goods according to Agreement should have been paid at the Expiration of Twelve Months. However since you have not been punctual in this, we desire than one Years interest on the above Sum at 5 per Cent may be added to your Remittance which we expect immediately. We cannot think of Losing the Interest of our Money and are determined rather than to Give such a Length of Credit to any Correspondent to Decline the fulfilling of his Orders. It was presuming on your Promised Remittances which induced us to ship your Last Orders, and it really hurts us, to be under the disagreeable Necessity of Thus Writing You. Your Correspondence will be a Real Pleasure to us, provided you were Careful to our Time of Credit, Twelve not to exceed fourteen Months would

[9] Thomas Barnard, master of the sloop *Speedwell,* which passed between New York and Boston, touching at Newport. *Boston Evening Post,* May 30, 1774.

[10] Robert Wells, *The Story of Æneas and Dido burlesqued:* By Rowland Rugeley. Charlestown, [S. C.], Printed and Sold by Robert Wells. 1774. It was reprinted in Philadelphia by James Humphreys, 1774, as by a Gentleman of South-Carolina.

Content us. In expectation of your immediate Remitting with Interest We are, Sir, Your Respectful Servants.

WRIGHT & GILL.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

SIR, — I beg the favor of you to inform me by the Return of the post where Mr. John Manning, a Surgeon and Apothecary, mentioned to reside in the Massachusetts bay, Lives. A friend of mine [11] has a Letter of some moment for him. I therefore shall be glad to be informed where he is to be addressed. I am, Sir, Yr. very humble Sert.

JA. RIVINGTON.

N. YORK, Mar. 28, 1774.

FROM SILVANUS RIPLEY

SALEM, April 1st 1774.

DEAR SIR, — If you would take the care of a small sum of Money: viz. £9. 13. 0 till such time as it shall be sent for by Mr. Daniel Dunbarr of Halifax to whom it belongs (as your store is particularly known to him) you will very much oblige your affectionate and humble Sert.

SILVANUS RIPLEY.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

Mr. HENRY KNOX.

Bot. of JAMES RIVINGTON

1774		
March 7th	2 Dozen Struensee [12]	£2. 8. 0
	6 Do Hervey's Meditations	2. 2. 0
	4 Do & 11 Do Contemplations	1.14. 5
		£6. 4. 5

SIR, — Be pleased to advertise the Conversion of Struensee and sell them if you can. Those unsold to be returned. Twenty per Cent, I think is to be allowed me for Sales, the same to you.

[11] —— Long

[12] Johan Frederick Struensee (1731–1772). Balthasar Muenter wrote and published in 1773 an account of his conversion. A second edition appeared in London, 1774.

I had no more of the Contemplations ready for this opportunity. The parcell containing the above are on board the *Swan* man of War which is this morning sailed for Boston. My Good friend Capt Ayscough will be so Kind as let you have the parcell. As to the Picture books for Children they shall make a good appearance and an handsome allowance made you. I propose to send a subject to you for Mr. Riviere in a post or two. I will insert your name on every occasion and with diligence promote your Interest, and doubt not of your Cordial attention to mine. Pray what think you of my proposed Edition of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son the two Quarto Volumes in two Duodecimo's? Pray give me your thoughts and if like to succeed at Boston. I am much, dear Sir, Your most obed. Serv.

Ja. Rivington.

N. York, April 6, 1774.

From James Rivington

N. York, April 8, 1774.

Sir, — Enclosed is a Print [13] which I desire you will immediately employ Mr. Riviere to engrave with all the ability in his power and to let it be done as soon as possible, be pleased to acquaint him that the Plate must be of such a size as will be adapted to a very large Duodecimo which you know is the size of Cook's Voyage and that it is to fold out Length ways as it lies now enclosed. I beg his best Execution and speedy dispatch of it and I am, Sir, Your most. obed. Servt.

Ja. Rivington.

From James Rivington

N. York, April 20, 1774.

Sir, — As I apprehend you have not one of the pamphlets herewith sent and it may be, in that Case, a desireable acquisition to you, I forward it per post, that if you should think an impression of Wedderburnes bitter speech [14] might be sold you may immediately

[13] The frontispiece to the first volume of the *Voyages,* entitled "Dramatic Interlude and Dance given by the Indians of Ulietea" was signed by Paul Revere, as Mr. A. J. Wall of the New York Historical Society courteously informs us. The plate in the second volume — "A New Zealand Warrior" — is without name of engraver.

[14] Wedderburn's attack on Franklin was made on Jan. 4, 1774, and soon after there appeared a pamphlet hastily thrown together: *The Letters of*

get it printed, or at least you may have an opportunity, by lending it to the Gentlemen who are your Customers leaning to the side

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Governor Hutchinson, and Lieut. Governor Oliver, &c. printed at Boston. With the Assembly's Address, and the Proceedings of the Lords Committee of the Privy Council, Together with the Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's Speech, relative to those Letters. London, J. Wilkie, 1774, pp. (2), 134. A second edition was advertised in the *London Chronicle,* Feb. 24, 1774, as: "THE Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's SPEECH before the LORDS COMMITTEE of his MAJESTY'S Privy Council for PLANTATION AFFAIRS, upon the obtaining and sending away Mr. HUTCHINSON's and Mr. OLIVER's Letters, with the Letters themselves and Remarks in their defence, by ISRAEL MAUDUIT, together with The ASSEMBLY's Address, and Dr. FRANKLIN's Letter to Lord DARTMOUTH, and the Proceedings before the Lords Committee on that Address, and their Report to his Majesty in Council.

"Printed for J. Wilkie, No. 71, St. Paul's Churchyard.

"☞Those Gentlemen who have bought the first edition, may have the Report of the Lords Committee to his Majesty in Council, to compleat their books (gratis)."

The following was added to the advertisement after "Churchyard" in *London Chronicle,* March 1, 1774: "Where may be had, price 1 *s.* 6 *d.* lately published, A short view of the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, with respect to their original Charter and Constitution." It was written by Israel Mauduit.

Wedderburn's attack upon Dr. Franklin was known in Boston and the incident was outlined in advices from London by Captains Folger and Symmes, printed in the *Boston Gazette* and the *Boston Evening Post* of April 25, 1774. The note in Draper's *Massachusett's Gazette,* April 21, was more brief and the paragraphs in Mills and Hicks' *Massachusetts Gazette,* April 25, are worth reprinting:

"*Feb.* 4. The *Public,* as well as the *Privy* Council, seem anxious to know how Letters, which have occasioned a *little* Bloodshed, and a *great deal* of Noise, have found their way to America. Were men to give themselves the trouble of enquiring properly in *Crane court,* they would find the true reason in some of the *Philosophical Transactions* of that Place. A *certain* Doctor is the intimate Friend of a *certain* Baronet; a *certain* Baronet has Access to a *certain* House not a hundred miles from one of the gates of St. James's Park. *Certain* Letters might lie upon a *certain Table;* and it is most *certain* that such Letters might be *certainly* conveyed, without any *Electrical Shock* on the part of the *worthy* Baronet, into the hands of his philosophical friend. There is less Mystery in this affair than in any of the discoveries of the two Philosophers. They have, it is true, given a *shock* to their friends; but our Correspondent knows of no *conductor* that will convey a *shock* to themselves. It will however be extremely *shocking* should both, for their *services* to the People, be turned out from their offices under the Crown.

"We hear that when a certain Crown Lawyer (Wedderburne) inveighed with all the rhetoric against the *Transmitter* of certain letters to America, the said *Transmitter* stood before him with all the unchangeable features and apathy of Philosophy. The whole *Fire* seemed to have been *extracted* from his Frame, and he remained in that inert state to which the human clay is subject before it is animated by the *Promethian* touch."

of prerogative, to have a fair opportunity to gratify them very eminently.

You will find in my paper, of tomorrows date, a Letter to Col. Hancock. I was under a necessity of printing it, as a Controversial peice it is wrote with a more decent Temper than the generality of such productions, and as I should apprehend I run no risque of disobliging the Colonel, which I would be sorry should be the Case; I by printing the peice in my Gazeteer secure an opportunity for any of his friends to reply to it. I troubled you with a print which hope Mr Riviere will finish as highly as that sent As a Copy I am, Sir, your most humble sert.

JA. RIVINGTON

Pray if you choose to have any of the little Picture book let me know. they are four shillings a Dozen N York Currency or Twenty six Dozen paying for 24.
I hope My sending the pamphlet, which is the only one in all this Country, will be considered as an earnest of my warm attachment and an expression of the sensibility I feel from your very Cordial attention to my Interest.

[From *Rivington's New York Gazetteer,* April 21, 1774.]

Mr. RIVINGTON,

Many of your readers defire to see the following letter in your next paper; pray let it be inserted, and you will much oblige them. Your's, &c.

To JOHN HANCOCK, ESQUIRE:

SIR,

When a gentleman addresses the public, he ought to be governed by the laws of truth and honour. Nor ought any man, openly professing himself a patriot, to aim, under that character, at deception, or advance any thing in diminution of the peace and good order of society. These truths are so well established by reason, that they cannot be denied by any one, without incurring pity or contempt. Therefore by these rules I shall now examine your late oration; by the publication of which you have acceded to this liberty, and therefore I need no apology.

But give me leave to premise, that it is in vain to assume the character of virtue, either public or private, relying on appearances only to support it. There must be the indelible marks of it fixed in the mind, before any one can truly enjoy or merit that honour. And profession and practice must assume an indissoluble union, before the amiable part of mankind will decree the prize of virtue, to any one.

The subject of your oration was the commemoration of the cruel and

bloody massacre, as you stile it, committed on the fifth of March, 1770, by Capt. Preston, and a party of soldiers under his command.

As the orator of the day, you exerted your utmost abilities in publishing to the world the enormous guilt of the transaction. You also, very profusely, loaded those persons with epithets, due only to the most abandoned and profligate of mankind. But permit me here to remind you, that the truth of a fact can never be established, by supposing it proved.

If upon a strict and candid examination of the transaction and what followed, it should evidently appear, that there was not any murder or massacre committed either by Capt. Preston or any of the soldiers under his command, how will you escape censure? This enquiry naturally leads to the consideration of facts, and makes it necessary briefly to recapitulate some transactions of that night, and what in consequence thereof was done by a party at Boston, among which it is well known you was the most active, and of which you have ever since gloried.

On my part, it is freely confessed, that the party of soldiers headed by Capt. Preston, killed five men. On yours it must be acknowledged, that the Captain and all the men accused, without hesitation or delay, were delivered up to the civil power, and committed to his Majesty's gaol, in order to their being brought to a legal and regular trial. Here the matter by the rules of law, founded in humanity ought to have rested, till sitting of the court. But instead thereof, several Justices assembled, and in public began the examination of witnesses. Such were with unusual industry sought after, and some of which added no credit to the cause. Not contented with this unprecedented and dangerous manœuvre, all the depositions so procured, were instantly ordered to be printed, together with the representation of the bloody tragedy, with most inflammatory notes under the same; and these were most industriously scattered, not only through this but the neighbouring colonies. This procedure certainly was very irregular and unfair. All industry was used, at repeated town meetings, and in which you was present, in news papers, nay, and in the public streets, to inflame the minds of all people, and to fill their breasts with most invincible prejudices against the unfortunate prisoners, at that time destitute of all human help. All this, I think, might have satiated the keenest appetite for revenge. —— But no, there was still one other powerful engine to be employed for the accomplishment of the *noble* end designed, the ignominious death of the innocent. Pulpit declamation was made subservient to the cause. For this reason too many of the Ministers, if they deserve that venerable name, instead of preaching the gospel of truth, love, and charity, arraigned, tried, and condemned the unhappy prisoners, with a ferocity exactly fitted to the character of a gladiator. — This conduct is so entirely destitute of excuse, as to render it impertinent to remark upon it. — What could be the end proposed from these unusual methods? I fear it was as a certain Doctor of divinity, high up in the estimation of the party, very emphatically expressed in

the words following: "Had I been on the jury, I would have hanged them all, EVIDENCE OR NO EVIDENCE." Surely no serious, no virtuous man can agree with the Doctor in this barbarous sentiment. And yet, I am sorry to declare it, this abandon'd man was one of the pulpit orators employed, was and still is caressed by you as a friend, an able politician, a learned and pious divine.

From this narration of facts no impartial person can be at a loss to conceive what deep rooted and almost irresistible prejudice influenced all ranks and degrees of persons in the province. Had the prisoners after such efforts, such effectual methods taken to poison the minds of those who were to be on their jury, any hope of deliverance remaining, unless their innocence appeared with strength and vigour sufficient to dissipate all doubt, and irradicate all the force of prejudice? Such was their uncommon, such their wretched situation when put upon trial.

Under these circumstances, I appeal to mankind in general, and to you, Sir, in particular, whether there is the smallest degree of probability, that the accused would have escaped punishment, if there had been any evidence, tho' but slight against them? — I attended the trial, and though not a lawyer, humbly presume myself capable of judging of facts: and therefore undertake to affirm, that the evidence was so far from fixing the guilt of murder or any other crime on Captain Preston, that it did not leave even the suspicion of any guilt whatsoever upon him. Nor was there any evidence to prove the soldiers, one excepted, guilty of any crime.

Now let us attend to the trial; for tho' there were two, I think it best for many obvious reasons to consider them only as one. It was had before a venerable, an honest, and a learned bench. The jury was composed of men of unblemished characters, chiefly from the neighbouring towns, the rest were inhabitants of Boston. Those also have ever borne the character of honest and sensible men. These were all duly returned and sworn. — The town engaged two counsel to prosecute, able and faithful. And they in strict conformity to their trust and duty, did themselves great honour. — Nothing was wanting on their parts. — The trial was very lengthy and extremely fair. — The whole evidence was most accurately taken in writing by the court, and the gentlemen of counsel on both sides, and indeed by several others. The same most deliberately and candidly examined, and applied by the judges and lawyers: — The law opened and explained. After which the court in a very solemn, but familiar stile, gave their several charges to the jury much in favour of the prisoners, more particularly of the Captain, unanimously agreeing that in their opinion, there was not any evidence to charge him with any crime. — The jury withdrew, and on their return, declared the prisoners not guilty, except one of the soldiers, whom they found guilty of manslaughter only; whereupon the rest were discharged. In fact, the whole process was attended with all the impartiality, caution and judgment, necessary to constitute a fair and solemn trial in a British court of justice.

Now, Sir, let me ask you, are you ignorant of all these proceedings, or was you not, during all the scene, in or near the town? I dare say you will not answer in the negative. Indulge me a little farther. What kind of evidence is sufficient, in your mind, to exculpate from a charge of guilt? Is it the depositions of men of unspotted characters, and of sound sense? Is it the solemn judgment of grave and venerable judges upon the meaning and operation of such depositions? Or is it the unanimous suffrages of twelve good and lawful men, under oath, to determine according to evidence? Tell me, can a man produce stronger, more satisfactory, nay convincing proof of innocency, than an acquittal by an upright court and jury, upon the most mature consideration of law and evidence? And have you not all these irresistible proofs in the case before us? Yet in opposition to them all, you publickly undertake to charge persons, thus proved innocent, as guilty of the most horrid and matchless murder and massacre ever committed on the face of the earth, and to hand their names down to posterity, branded with the blackest infamy. Your passions, Sir, certainly represent objects to you in a very false light, or you would not have attempted thus to deceive the public, thus to declare war with common sense. Recollect yourself, and then you cannot be either so weak or vain as to imagine yourself capable first to deceive, and then mislead all others. Cannot time, added to the strongest evidence of innocence, mitigate your ill founded resentment, induce you to spare a good character,* once indeed in danger of being mangled to pieces by priests, justices, and ——— witnesses.

Next, Sir, give me leave to shew wherein you have been faulty in point of real patriotism, in order that for the future you may adopt a conduct consistent with your professions. If in your oration there appears a manifest intention to lessen the consequence and authority of the superior court, before which the captain and others were tried, and to bring into contempt, trials by juries; you cannot think you are thereby advancing the peace of society. Your doctrines in their consequences appear clearly to me in that light.

The necessity of courts for the due direction of public justice is self evident; and it is equally obvious that the characters of both judges and jurors ought to be held in veneration, and never to be attacked or even discoloured, unless by reason and truth. Otherwise their solemn decisions, designed to quiet men in the enjoyment of their property, characters and lives, will not have those salutary effects. For when once the reverence justly due to courts and their judgments is obliterated, it necessarily follows, that individuals no longer will pay obedience to their authority; and so in a short time the strongest arm and longest sword will triumph over justice.

Supposing, Sir, the fact of murder to be as you have represented it, what a shocking idea must it raise of both court and jury? Could any man on such a supposition account why such manifest guilt escaped punishment? There are but two possible ways of satisfying the mind

* Captain Preston.

in this enquiry, viz. either that the court and jury were invincibly ignorant and stupid, or incorrigibly vicious and wicked. Both which directly tend to overthrow the dignity and weight of courts and juries, and consequently to destroy their utility. These are subjects of which you in particular under the character of a patriot ought to have been very attentive to, and tender of. Your over heated imagination hath plunged you deep in errors; perhaps the term may be thought by some too mild. To such I declare I had rather be censured for lenity, than suspected of illiberality. To conclude, let me caution you to take great care, not to launch out into such extravagancies again, nor ever countenance others in such attempts, lest the dispassionate and thoughtful should be compelled by reason, not only to question, but deny your patriotism.

PHILELEUTHEROS.

[*The writer of an answer to the above letter, if any answer should be intended, to be inserted in this paper, is desired to forward it, so as to be delivered into the Printer's hands on a Thursday or Friday, if possible, and it shall be inserted in the ensuing week's Gazetteer; for the author of the above has been apprized, that if a reply was sent, it should, from motives of true candour and decorum, be printed in the New-York Gazetteer.*]

From William Tyler

Sir, — After my Kind respects to you I would inform you that we have a most Respectfull Company of Cadetts [15] now a Growing in Providence. I being one of them and Clark to said Company am Desird to Make Application to some Gentleman of my Acquaintance for the Boston Cadetts Articles in full which they have Agreed and sind to Abide by if you coud favour me so much and send them by the Bearer Mr. Dexter Brown the Coachman and you will greatly Oblige your Friend and most Humble Servant

William Tyler.

P. S. Pray Excuse the above not having five Minute the Coach is going Yours

Wm. Tyler.

Providence, A[pril] 23d, 1774.

[15] Although it is stated that the First Corps of Cadets served as the Governor's body-guard in 1741, the first mention in the Boston record was in 1744, when Col. Pollard asked for the use of Faneuil Hall "in Order to learn the Exercise of the Fire lock, to a Number of Gentlemen who have formed themselves into a Company of Cadets." *Boston Records Com.*, XVII. 69.

FROM ROBERT BELL

PHILADELPHIA, April 30th, 1774.

SIR, — Have forwarded to you for sale on Commission on my Account two New Publications Viz.
No 1 containing 14 Falconer's Shipwreck and Viauds Voyage [16]
No 2 containing 14 Falconer's Shipwreck and Viaud's Voyage.
No 3 containing 14 Falconer's Shipwreck and Viaud's Voyage
No 5 containing 12 Caspipina's Letters [17]
No 6 containing 12 Caspipina's Letters
Also 11 Letters to Blackstone by Priestly and Furneaux; [18] or the Palladium of Conscience [19]
These will be delivered to You per Mr. Gideon Hubbart.

The Printed advertisements which are sent along with them please give to the Public. And the advertisement inclosed cause it to be inserted in two of Your News Paper for three Weeks. More of each shall be sent per the first opportunity to Boston. Sir, I am with respect, Your much obliged Humble Servt.

ROBERT BELL.[20]

FROM JOSEPH CLARKE

NORTHAMPTON, May 3d, 1774.

SIR, — I sent last week by one Mr. Clark of this town for Junius' Letters and the boston Evening Post of the 11th of April last, he told me that it was uncertain whether he should be able to bring them or not, if you did not send them by him, you will be pleased to send them now by the bearer hereof Mr Dickinson. I should be

[16] Jean Gaspard Dubois-Fontanelle, *The Surprizing yet real and true Voyages and Adventures of Monsieur Pierre Viaud. A French Sea-Captain. To which is added, The Shipwreck. A sentimental and descriptive Poem in three Cantos. By William Falconer,* an English Sailor. Philadelphia, Printed by Robert Bell, 1774.

[17] Tamoc Caspipina, pseudonym of Jacob Duché, of Philadelphia. Printed at Philadelphia, 1774.

[18] Philip Furneaux (1726–1783).

[19] A volume published by Bell in 1774, with the title: *The Palladium of Conscience; or The Foundation of Religious Liberty displayed, asserted, and established, agreeable to its true and genuine Principles, above the reach of all Petty-Tyrants, who attempt to lord it over the human Mind.*

[20] On May 7, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, wrote to Knox that the April magazines had been placed on board the *Neptune,* Captain Loring.

glad if you would get a Pamphlet at Mr. John Langdon's intituld " Lord Somers ' Judgment of whole kingdoms and nations, etc." [21] and bind it in marble as you did those others for me the other day and send it by Mr. Dickinson.

I should be glad likewise if you would send to England and get the following book, to wit. " The History of the Minority during the years 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1765. Exhibiting the conduct principles and views of that party," printed for J. Almon.[22] Likewise a pamphlet intituled " The letters of Governour Hutchinson and Lt. Governour Oliver, etc. and remarks thereon with the assembly's addresses, and the proceedings of the Lords committee of council. Together with the substance of Mr. Wedderburn's speech relating to these letters." printed for J. Wilkie.

The reason of my desiring you to send home for the pamphlet is, because I suppose there is none to be purchased in Boston. I am sensible that the Governours letters, and Wedderburn's speech are to be sold in Boston, but then these are separate.[23] I want them both but choose to have them together, and this pamphlett contains them both, together with remarks upon the Governours Letters besides.[24] If the Pamphlet is to be sold in Boston, I beg you will be so kind as to procure and send it and you will oblige Yr humble sert.

JOSEPH CLARKE.

FROM T. CARY

NEWBURYPORT, May 13, 1774.

SIR, — I rec'd your Favor by the Post with the Proposals inclosed. If you think it best to advertise in the News Papers I have no Objection.[25] I suppose you will print the same you sent here. I

[21] This tract was printed in 1774, from the twelfth London edition, by printers in Boston, New York and Newport.

[22] It was written by John Almon.

[23] Wedderburn's Speech was printed in a four-paged issue of newspaper size by Mills and Hicks, with the caption: *Proceedings of his Majesty's Privy-Council on the Address of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, to remove his Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; with the Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's Speech relative to said Address.*

[24] By Israel Mauduit. See note 14, *supra.*

[25] This may refer to John Tucker's *Remarks on a Discourse of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Newbury-Port, delivered on the 5th of March last, and entitled, Freedom from Civil and Ecclesiastical Slavery, the Purchase of Christ.* It was published by Mills & Hicks and advertised in the *Boston Evening-Post,* May 23, 1774. Mr. Tucker was pastor of the First Church in Newbury. Parsons' tract had been printed at Newburyport by Isaiah Thomas and Henry Walter Tinges — the first book printed in that town.

intend to disperse them immediately, procure as many Subscribers as I can, and will let you know my Success at Election, when I expect to be at Boston. I am Sir your most humble servant.

T. CARY.

FROM THOMAS LONGMAN

LONDON, May 14, 1774.

SIR, — I have just time to acquaint you that I have just Received your favour of the 30th of March Inclosing Mr. Thomas Boylston's Bill on Messrs. Lane & Son for one Hundred pounds and an Order for Books, which shall be got ready as soon as possible, but as the Boston Port Bill takes place the beginning of June am at a loss to know in what way to forward them, but as more Ships are Daily expected hope I shall hear further from you by them, if not please to favour me with line as soon as possible. hope the measures taken by Parliament will not materially afflict my good friends at Boston. I am, Sr., Your very much obliged Humble Sert.

THOMAS LONGMAN.

Pray be so kind as to acquaint Mr. Bowes that I have Received His Letter.

FROM ALEXANDER MCLEAN

BRISTOL, May 21st, 1774.

SIR, — I should be glad you informed me how much I may be in your debt that I may send you your money, and if you have the following Books send them viz. Sermons on the Knowledge of Christ in his person, offices etc. by John Hurrion.[26] Sermons by John Brine.[27] Haweis on the Sacrament of the Lord's S[uppe]r,[28] Angel on Prayer [29] and Derhams Astro-Theology.[30] Let me know if you have Smollets History of England [31] and Haweis Exposition of

[26] John Hurrion, *The Knowledge of Christ and him Crucified.* London, 1727, and *The Knowledge of Christ glorified.* London, 1729.

[27] John Brine, but no volume of Sermons is listed among his publications.

[28] Thomas Haweis, *The Communicant's Spiritual Companion.* London, 1763, and a sixth edition in 1770.

[29] John Angel, *Essay on Prayer,* 1760.

[30] William Derham, *Astro-Theology: or a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God from a Survey of the Heavens.* London, 1715, and a ninth edition in 1750.

[31] Tobias George Smollett, *Complete History of England,* in eleven volumes. London, 1758–60.

the New Test.[32] You need not send me Newspapers any further. If you can supply me with another Magazine in place of the Gentlemens you may, if not send me none for this year. I have not got the Decr. one yet. There was a Nu⌈mbe⌋r of the Town and Country Magazine sent me instead of the other. Mr. McLean the Watchmaker has them in his hands, now I wish you wd. place the proper one in the Room of it and bind the whole in one Volume. You may charge what you think proper for the Copies you sold of Buchan's Physn.[33] I know not yet what Reduction the Philadelphia Bookseller may give. Yours &c.

ALEX. MCLEAN.

Send one of your reading glasses also.

FROM WILLIAM WHITTREDG

DARTMOUTH, May 21st, A. D. 1774.

SIR, — I Received By the hand of John Manchester Thomas Sherlocks Sermons 4 Vol: [34]

I wrote for William Sherlocks Practical Discourses on Death a future Judgment and on Providence.[35] I have sent the former By Capt. Ebenezer White to you to Change for the Later if you have sent them by Capt. Merchant. Send me for Tho: Sherlocks 4 Vol:, Nature Display'd in 7 Vol: If you have them not send the Gentlemans Library in 3 Vol: from your Humble Sert

WILLIAM WHITTREDG.

P. S. Pray Change them for those are not the Vol: I was Desirous to have.
Price of these 4 Vol: £1: 10: 0

FROM DANIEL BAYLEY

NEWBURY PORT, May 24 1774.

SIR, — I understand there are some Coasters from here now in Boston. Shoud be Glad you would send me a few things in your

[32] Thomas Haweis, *The Evangelical Expositor.* 1765.

[33] William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician.* Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1774.

[34] Thomas Sherlock, *Several Discourses.* London, 1754–58.

[35] William Sherlock, *A Practical Discourse concerning a Future Judgment.* London, 1692; *A Practical Discourse concerning Death.* London, 1689. Both tracts ran through many editions.

way if I shoud Draw for more than my acct. I shall be Ready to supply you with any thing in my way. Some things I want are the first Second, and fourth Vol. of the Mesiah, 4 Doz. Ink Juggs, 4 Quire marble Paper, I Quire Blue, 2 Quarto Bibles, 3 Pocket Ditto, 2 Baileys Dixy. 2 Sal grammar, 12 Common Scotch Bibles, 6 Seamans Asist. and if you incline you may send more of the aforesaid articles. Yr. Servt.

DANIEL BAYLEY.

I have sent 100 Tunes for Ps Books at 4/ each O[ld] T[enor].

FROM ANDREW OLIVER

SALEM, 15 June, 1774.

SIR, — I received a Letter from you when I was at Boston wherein you mention the scarcity and dearness of the general Dictionary I desired you to write for, also that Mitchell on Magnets was out of print, &c. but you say nothing of several other Books which I desired you to send for, which together with your having forgot to send for any of them under a twelvemonth induces me to think that you had lost or mislaid the list I sent you, if that is the case and you will signify it to me I will give you another if you incline to send for them, as they were all of them Books which I was desirous of I am, Sir, Your most obedt Servt.

A. OLIVER.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

Mr. HENRY KNOX

Bot. of JAMES RIVINGTON.

1774.			
June 15th	4	Dalrymple's Mem 3 Volls 8vo.	£7.10. 0
	12	False Delicacy [Hugh Kelly]	
	12	She Stoops [Oliver Goldsmith] [36]	
	12	Duellist [William Kenrick] [37]	
	12	School for Wives [Hugh Kelly]	
	4	Good Natur'd Man [Oliver Goldsmith]	
	4	West Indian [Richard Cumberland] [38]	
	4	Man & Wife [George Colman]	
	4	Alonzo [John Home] [39]	6 Doz: at 2 8 0
	4	Almeida [40]	

[36] *London Magazine*, XLII. 144.

[37] *Ib.*, 524.

[38] *Ib.*, XL. 10, 102.

[39] *Ib.*, XLII. 140.

[40] *Almida; a Tragedy, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane.* Noticed, with extracts, in *London Magazine*, XL. 46. It was an

4	All in the wrong. [Arthur Murphy]			
12	Padlock [Isaac Bickerstaff]			
6	Brave Irishman [or Capt. O'Blunder, Thomas Sheridan]			
4	H[onest] Yorkshireman [Henry Carey]			
4	Lethe [David Garrick]			
4	Cath: & Petruchio [David Garrick]			
4	Midas [Kane O'Hara]			
8	Mayor [of] Garrett [Samuel Foote] 5 Do. at 6/	1	10	0
4	Apprentice [Arthur Murphy]			
4	Upholsterer [do.]			
6	Citizen [do.]			
4	Intriguing Chamber Maid [Henry Fielding]			
4	Reprisals [Tobias Smollett]			
4	Lying Valet [David Garrick]			
13	Dozen New Years Gifts [41]	2	8	0
2	Do Maxims for Whist	1	16	0
	Box	£15	12	0

Sir, — By Capt. Barnard you have the above. I shall be greatly obliged to you to do what service you can in disposing of the New Years Gift. I am printing several other books of the Newberry [42] Kind and will send some of each when ready. My Voyage is going on to a Conclusion and I wish to be favored with the Names of what subscribers you may have been so obliging as to procure for your assured and faithful friend.

Ja. Rivington.

Endorsed: Recd. only 9 doz. of the within. Hy. Knox.

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adaptation of Voltaire's *Tancrède* by Dorothea Celesia, daughter of David Mallet. The play was offered to Garrick, who wrote an epilogue, and was produced Jan. 12, 1771, with Mrs. Ann Spranger Barry in the leading part. *Ib.*, 7.

[41] The New Year's Gift . . . ; composed of Meditations and Prayers for every Day in the Week. London, 1709, and later years. *London Chronicle*, Jan. 2, 1772.

[42] John Newbury (1713–1767), "the first to make the issue of books specially intended for children an important branch of a publishing business. The tiny volumes in his 'Juvenile Library' were bound in flowered and gilt Dutch paper, the secret of the manufacture of which has been lost." *Dictionary National Biography*, XL. 313.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, June 20, 1774.

As my Subscribers have, most of them, had my Gazetteer twelve months and it may prove most salutary to sollicit the payment at the Expiration of each Year, may I be allowed to intreat your friendly offices on the occasion, if you think it may be a proper season to apply for payment.

I shall be much obliged to you for the favor of a List of the subscribers to Cook's Voyage in order to their Being printed in the List of Subscribers to it.

If at any time any occurrance of Moment should happen or any extra[ordinar]y News arrive at Boston from England I shall be highly obliged to you for as minute a detail of them as possible and that they may be sent me by the earliest opportunity especially if any thing remarkable gets to your Knowledge so as you may dispatch it by the Thursday Post for I always Reserve room for the produce of the Boston post which arrives here on Wednesday Evening, the Boston news papers are so deficient Generally in the relations of occurrances from England that I should hope for some friendly Assistances from your letter when you can find time to gratify me.

Pray pardon all this freedom. I shall send you some things in about a fortnight by the *Swan,* and I am, Sir, Your most obedt. and obliged

JA. RIVINGTON.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, June 26, 1774.

May I be allowed to trouble you to purchase for me one Groce of the Cakes of Boston Crown Soap,[43] such as is made by Mrs. Mecom, with the utmost allowance to retailers, and I beg the favor of you to send them in a box by Capt. Barnard, or the first opportunity. I shall be happy in the favor of a Letter intimating the State of things at Boston in this distressing conjuncture, with your speculations as to their probable termination. Every thing cool and prudent I flatter my self will be suggested to your Committee from those of Philadelphia and New York and I fancy the former, at least, will urge payment for the Tea, which, once done, will go a

[43] Josiah Franklin, father of Benjamin, made a crown soap, as did two of Benjamin's brothers — John and Peter. Jane, their sister, married Edward Mecom.

great way towards a conciliation of these unhappy [*a word erased*] distractions.

I hope soon you will enable me to felicitate you on the happiest Event of your Life,[44] My most sincere wishes attend you for I am Your ever assured friend,

JA. RIVINGTON.

I shall soon send you a pamphlet which will greatly invigorate the Sale of Keysers pills.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, June 26, 1774.

Dear Sir, — Since I wrote to you, I have occasion to address myself a second time. Mr. Moorwood, who is appointed by Mr. Norton to be his distributer of Maredants Drops,[45] proposes to have an Agent for the same purpose at Boston. I have accordingly recommended him to you confident of the most punctual attention to his directions. Mr Moorwood will write to you further on this subject.

I beg the favor of you to interest yourself in Collecting what you can conveniently procure for me on the score of the Subscription to my Gazetteer. I am, Dear Sir, Your most obedt. and obliged Servant

JA. RIVINGTON.

FROM HUGH KNOX

ST. CROIX, July 4th, 1774.

Dear Sir, — Our worthy friend Mr. Thos Fletcher mercht. on this Island, was Kind Enough to recommend you to Me, as a Gentleman, who by your Character, influence and friendly disposition, might more readily and Effectually assist me, than most people in your City, in promoting a subscription for printing a small work of mine, about soon to be printed in New York, if Encouragemt: is Given.[46] A Sameness of name, is also another Indearment. I

[44] "Last Thursday [23d] was married by the Rev. Dr. Caner, Mr. Henry Knox, of this Town, to Miss Lucy Flucker, second Daughter to the Honorable Thomas Flucker, Esq; Secretary of the Province." *Boston Evening Post,* and *Boston Gazette,* June 27, and *Massachusetts Gazette,* June 30, 1774.

[45] Maredant's Antiscorbutic Drops. In 1773 they were offered by Peter Roberts, at his Shop directly opposite the West-Door of the Town-House, Boston.

[46] Two tracts by Hugh Knox were printed at New York in 1775; *The Moral and Religious Miscellany; or sixty-one aphoretical Essays, on some*

heartily Condole with you on the disagreeable Circumstances into which the late measures of Governmt. have thrown you; which must have an unfriendly aspect on literary, as well as Mercantile matters.

If the proposal has any Success with you, Be Kind Enough to transmit it, (as also another which Mr. Fletcher sends to a Clergyman of your City) under your Cover, Directed to Mr Samuel Loudon,[47] Ship-chandler, and Bookseller in New-York; And I'll order the subscrib'd for books to be sent you by him.

A line from you, when Convenient, in Answer to this, and the Cultivation of a better Acquaintance, will be extreamly agreeable to, Dear Sir, Your obedient Servant.

HUGH KNOX.

FROM THOMAS FLETCHER

ST. CROIX, July 13th, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — My Worthy Friend and your Namesake, (perhaps Relation) Dr. Hugh Knox of St. Croix is about Publishing some Essays on several Religious Subjects, and requested of me to Aid him in the same. I have therefore recommended you to him as the most suitable person I know of, not doubting your good disposition; hopeing at the same time, the Name would have some influence. He is indeed a sensible, Pious, Orthodox and Zealous Divine, in whose friendship I think my Self very happy. If you can serve him, do. For altho, as I have wrote the Revd. Mr. How, I do not think the World have much need of such treatises; having already near as many as it can contain yet, as the Inhabitants of this part of it are a Whimsical tribe they may take the pains to look into what they themselves have had a hand in; there being near 100 who have subscribed for its publication; and a Minister of their own for its Author will engage at least those here who have Subscribed for, to peruse it; and consequently some Chance of it

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of the most important Christian Doctrines and Virtues — probably the work mentioned in the above letter; and, *Sermon on the Death of Johannes Theodorus Wilhelmus Maas.* The first tract was printed by Robert Hodge and Frederick Shober, whose "newest Printing-Office" had been set up in 1773, in Queen Street, "at the corner of the Fly-Market" and in 1774 was in Maiden Lane, corner of Nassau Street.

[47] Samuel Loudon was a printer and bookseller on Hunter's-Quay, New York, where he had established himself in 1773. He established the *New York Packet*, a weekly journal, published in New York, beginning Jan. 4, 1776, but was obliged to remove to Fishkill, New York, in October, 1776, where he continued its issue during the war.

doing them Service; other publications not being regarded at all by them. I am sorry to hear of the distress of the Town, through the new measures pursued by great Brittain. The Lord help you. I am with very great regard Your most humble servt.

THOMAS FLETCHER.

FROM WRIGHT & GILL

LONDON, 14th July 1774.

SIR, — We duly rec'd your esteem'd favor of 30th May covering us a Bill value one hundred Pounds, which is accepted, placed to your Credit, and for same are very much obliged to you.

We are extreemly sorry for the Situation of our Friends at Boston, and heartily wish that every Difference was so far settled, as that a mutual good-will and Affection might ever subsist between Brittain and her Colonies. Are much obliged to you for the Assurances you give of applying only to us, whenever a fresh supply of Stationary may be wanted. On our Part we beg Leave to assure you that the strictest Care and Attention will be paid to the discharge of all your Commands. Agreeable to your Promise we shall rely on your Remittances, and we trust you will give us no Room to blame you of any Neglect. We rest with the greatest Respect, Sr., Your mo. obed. Servants.

WRIGHT & GILL.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

NEW YORK, July 25, 1774.

I thank you, Sir, for the favor of your Letter of the 18 Inst. and for receiving the Cash for my Gazetteer which I beg the favor of you to pay to [*blank*] and to send me his Receipt on account of Charles McEvers Esq of this City.

The two parcells were entrusted to the Care of your particular friend Mr. Coffin who undertook for their safe conduct to you. I hope you have, ere this, received the remain[d]er.

Having none of the Crown Soap, and very little printer's Ink left, I shall be very glad to receive a Supply as soon as possible. When I see Mr. Moorwood I will give him the particulars of your Message and take care you have a speedy answer.

The transports are arrived [48] but the *Wentworth*, which is the

[48] Three transports had sailed from Boston for New York, July 2, and rumor said they were intended to carry to Boston the regiments of Royal

largest, proving leaky, the Embarkation of the Royal Welch fusileers will be deferred untill she is fitted for Sea.

All our Eyes are fixed upon the behavior of your Citizens, as to this place it is extreemly disunited, the Struggles for power between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, and the Virulence with which each treat the other will prevent that Harmony which ought to take place of every other Consideration in this critical state of American Liberty. I beg my Compts. to your Lady and I am, Sir, Your obliged H. Servt.

JA. RIVINGTON.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, July 28, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — The Royal Regiment of Welch fusileers having yesterday embarked on board the transports for Boston have fallen down our River to proceed on their Voyage. I have recommended all the Officers to your Shop; you will find them Gentlemen of the most approved integrity and of the nicest punctuality. Understanding that very fine Hyson tea is extremely scarce at Boston, as some Gentlemen have lately wrote such accounts hither, I have presumed to send four Chests of exceeding fine Hyson tea, as by the enclosed invoice, which I am informed may be sold for five dollars by the Single pound. I have committed two large black Leather Trunks, which contain them, to the Care of my worthy

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Welsh Fuzileers. *Boston Evening Post,* July 4, 1774. They arrived at New York July 14 and took on ordnance and "a proportion of Military Stores, among which are 500 Barrels of Gun-Powder; and we hear the Royal Welch Fuzileers, now here [N. Y.], are to embark this Week on board the said Transports, with a Detachment of the Train of Artillery, to sail directly for Boston." *Ib.,* Aug. 1, 1774. "New York, July 2– [a figure has dropped out]. On Tuesday afternoon [26th] a detachment of the Royal Artillery, and a quantity of ordnance Stores, embarked on board the brigantine transport for Boston. Early yesterday morning the royal regiment of Welsh Fusileers, under the command of Colonel Barnard, embarked on board the three transports that arrived here a few days ago from Boston." *Massachusetts Gazette,* Aug. 4, 1774. "Yesterday [7th] arrived in this Harbour, the Transports from New-York, having on board his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Welch Fuzileers, under the command of Colonel Barnard (one of the six renowned British Corps, to whose Valor and Intrepidity, the ever memorable Victory at Minden was gloriously acquired the 1st of August, 1759; and where a French army of 80,000 Men was worsted, and put to Flight by the Allies (not above half their Number) where the British Infantry and a few Hanoverian Battalions *alone* were engaged.) They are to land To-Morrow, and encamp on Fort-Hill." *Ib.,* Aug. 8, 1774.

friend Captain Horsfall,[49] of the Royal Welch fusileers, who will order the Trunks to be delivered to you; Now I must beg the favor of you to sell, or order them to be sold to the best advantage; possibly it may be quite out of your way to dispose of them, for which reason I beg you to put them into such hands, in the deepest Confidence, as may be able to complete the sale of them as soon as convenient. You will see I advertise this article for sale in my, this days, Gazetteer, for I always joined it to the Booksellers Branch, and, was it compatible with your situation, I apprehend it would be profitable to yourself. You must know that a Considerable quantity of Tea and Silks were lately brought into this port from the Island of Ascention, near the Cape, where one of our adventurers Vessels met with an East India Ship, and, luckily for him, found means to elude all Enquiry and land the Cargo in perfect safety in this City. This being a nice affair I must intreat that the utmost Secrecy Vigilance and prudence be employed for the Security and early sale of this Article. I hope the sending it will not alarm you, it is not known that a grain of it is sent to any person on board, unless my friend Capt Horsfall should guess at the Contents of the Trunks, but should that be the Case he is so discreet that no Creature will be the wiser. I say if you should be alarmed at this Measure pray order the Chests into the Hands of a safe person, one who is accustomed to deal in the article and will be able soon to render it into money at a good price. If you should be utterly opposed to any Concern with it pray give me immediate Notice. I presume I need not assure you that it is utterly free from duty, as the article, under such Circumstances, could not be admitted into this port, for an attempt to introduce it, so charged into this City, would be attended with immediate destruction to the party concerned in the Attempt. I shall hope to receive a letter from you by the return of the post, for I fancy the *Wentworth* Transport will not get to Boston under a fortnight. I have charged the Article at the price it cost, and hope it will be productive of an handsome profit.

Pray advise me the Price of Good bills of Exchange.

My humble Respects wait on Mrs. Knox. I am, Dear Sir, Your much obliged and obed. servt.

JAMES RIVINGTON.

There will be no freight to pay.[50]

[49] Christopher Horsfall, captain in the 23d (or Royal Welch Fuzileers) Regiment, of which General Howe was Colonel.

[50] On outside of letter: You shall soon have an answer from Dr. Moorehouse soon.

Aug. 6, 1774, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, writes that the July magazines were shipped on the *Minerva*, Capt. [John] Callahan.

From Nathaniel Bird

Newport, Augt. 11, 1774.

Sr, — Mr. Joseph Prince of Boston inclosed me a Shop Ticket of your Address with the prices of Plays, &c. and recommended me to You to be well used. I now am makeing up an Order, and want for that purpose the annexed Order sent me via, of Providence per first Opportunity. I will send your pay for the same on Delivery either to Mr. Mumford or otherwise as it suits You to Order. I am Sr. your most H. Sert.

Nath. Bird.

Memo[ran]dum viz. in large 8vo, at 18 *s.* doz. or Com. size at 8 *s.* per Doz. 3 King Lear per Tate; 5 Rigisters Office; 1 Mayor of Garrat. 5 Venice preserv'd; 5 Orphan, or unhappy Marriage; [1] 4 Mourning Bride; [2] 4 Anatomist (a Farce),[3] 2 Provok'd Husband; 1 do. Wife; [4] 4 Othelo, 3 Mercht. Venice.

P. S. If You can sett the Plays a little lower for Ready Cash it will encourage a future correspondence, &c. If You can furnish me with a particular Catalogue of Plays (in particular) the sorts of Mags., Books, &c I may Chance to send Orders.

Have you The Seamans Daily Assist[an]t and Mariner's Compass? please to send the price.

From James Rivington

N. York, Aug. 15, 1774.

Sir, — Since, from your account, I find my self unlucky in the adventure of so much Tea, I must intreat the favor of you to sell it, as soon as possible, at as good an advance, upon Eighteen shillings New York Currency, as you may; and the Cash I must beg you to invest in a bill of Exchange, of unexceptionable Credit, and remit the same to me. I was in hopes, from a flattering information, this Enterprize might have proved propitious in some degree to both of

[1] Thomas Otway, *Venice Preserved, The Orphan.*
[2] William Congreve, *Mourning Bride.*
[3] Edward Ravenscroft, *The Anatomist.*
[4] Sir John Vanbrugh, *The Provoked Husband, and The Provoked Wife.*

us. I doubt not that you will get this sold, as soon as possible, as I now give you information that a much larger quantity of the same Kind of Tea is already sent off for Boston, by way of Rhode Island or thro providence. I know not which; indeed I have not any Interest in any other than that sent to you. I spoke to my Good friend Mr. James Seagrove, Partner with Mr. McEvers of this city, before he sat out for Boston, and I wrote to him also, by last Thursdays post, in consequence of your last Letter to me, desiring the favor of him to concert with you the most eligible Method of turning the Consignment into Cash immediately. I hope from your Consultations that an effectual and direct method will be adopted.

Be so obliging as to pay what Cash you have of mine to Mr Seagrove and if you can get the Tea sold before he leaves Boston, I beg once more you will send me a sett of what you shall think perfectly good Bills of Exchange, the first of the set to preceed the rest by the posts.

I thank you heartily for the abundance of trouble you have had with my newspaper Interest and for the great attention you have given to it and to myself on many occasions. I am anxious for opportunities of doing you real service.

My Friends the Gallant Royals of Wales are as respectable a Corps of Gentlemen as are to be found in the Uniform of any Crowned head upon earth. You may depend upon their Honor and Integrity, there is not one of them has left here the least unfavorable impression behind them, and their departure is more regretted than that of any officers who ever garrisoned our City. Pray present my very humble respect to Col. Barnard [5] to Majr Blunt [6] and my Kind Love to every Captain and other Gentleman of their Corps.

My best Compliments wait on your most beauteous bride, accept of my fervent wishes again repeated, for a Long Series of the truest felicity, and be assured of my everlasting attachment, for I am your faithful and affectionate friend and obliged Servant,

JAMS RIVINGTON.

[5] Lieut. Col. Benjamin Bernard, of the 23d Regiment.

[6] Lieut. Col. Henry Blunt, of the 4th (or King's Own) Regiment.

[7] Sept. 3, 1774, Christopher Brown, of Longman's, wrote that the August magazines had been shipped on the *Lydia*, Capt. Hood, "bound for Salem and Boston. (I wish we could say Boston only.) . . . We have not had any arrivals immediately from Boston for some time but hope it will not be long. the latest arrival from America was the —— Capt. Folger from Nantucket."

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

I thank you, Dear Sir, for the favor of your late Letters, and I also thank you for all the trouble you have with me. As you may not have sold the tea, and I fancy you had much rather I had not sent an article so much out of your way of Bussiness, I have enclosed a Letter from Mr Seagrove to Mr. Palfrey [8] which when you have read and sealed I beg the favor of you to convey to that Gentleman provided you may not have disposed of the Tea.

My very humble Respects to your amiable Lady I am, in great haste, Dear Sir, Your assured friend

JA. RIVINGTON.

Cook's Voyage will be ready in about a week. Should I send yours in blue paper Covers or full bound and Letered or else in sheets.

N. YORK, Sep. 29, 1774.

You will be so obliging as to deliver the Tea to Mr. Palfrey if not already sold and take his receipt for the same.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

By the Return of the post give me leave, Dear Sir, to desire you will send, in a *blank* paper Cover, one of Colonel Hancock's Oration upon the Massacre,[9] I have an immediate use for it; and beg you will not neglect doing this favor for me. If, my Dear Sir, You have already, or may at any future time have any pamphlet or Book, at Boston, *well written* upon the unhappy Dispute with the English, pray fail not to send me *one* Copy by the first post, under a blank Cover, that I may be able to print it whilst it shall be quite new to our readers in this province.

Pray gratify me in this matter and you will highly oblige, Dear Sir, Your most obed. Servt.

JAMS RIVINGTON.

N. YORK, Oct. 2. 1774.

Pray present my very humble respects to Mrs. Knox.

[8] William Palfrey (1741–1780), merchant and afterwards Paymaster General of the Continental Army.

[9] This had been printed by Edes and Gill in March. *Massachusetts Gazette,* Mar. 21, 1774.

From Christopher Brown

Sir, — The usual Number of Magazines and Reviews for the month of September are shipped on board the *Harmony*, Capt. Shayler, which hope you will receive safe, the last arrival we had from Boston was the *Scarborough* Man of War in 24 day, but she brought very few Letters. Are every day in Expectation of the Arrival of some Merchantmen. Our late Parliament is dissolved and we hope tis ment for the advantage of America. At present the City and Countys are busy in choosing members for a fresh one. I am Sr. Your most Obedient Servant.

Christ. Brown.

London, October 6, 1774.

From James Rivington

N. York, Oct. 15, 1774.

Sir, I intreat the favor of you to purchase and send me as soon as possible Twelve Dozen of Ink, I am in the greatest want of it and hope you may be able to forward it to me immediately per Vessell via Providence.[10]

I thank you heartily for all your kind attentions to me and will be extremely glad to make you all the gratefull returns in my power. I received both yours and Mr. Palphreys obliging Letters and beg the favor of you to get as much above twenty shillings for the Tea as you possibly can and to give me notice of the sale as soon as it is effected. On the other side is a receipt and a note to Dr Goldthwait which I hope may produce the ballance due to me which he promised on the 24th of August.

My very humble respects wait on good Mrs. Knox. When it may be convenient for your Lady and your self to travel this way my house must be considered as totally your own. I am, Dear Sir, Your most affectionate and obed. Serv.

James Rivington.

[10] "Printing Ink by the Pound or larger Quantity, may be had at the *Heart & Crown* [Thomas and John Fleet]." *Boston Evening Post*, Oct. 10, 1774. In January, 1775, Edes and Gill made the announcement: "The Publishers of this Paper acquaint their Customers and others, That it is now printed with INK manufactured in this Town by Mr. HENRY CHRISTIAN GEYER: and they are determined for the future to give all due Encouragement to the Manufacture of INK, as they have and shall continue to do that of PAPER in this or any other American Colony. — The said Geyer carries on the STONE CUTTER's Business at the South End as usual." *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1775.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, Nov. 19, 1774.

SIR, I thank you for the enquiries you have made about printing ink for which I am in inexpressible want, as I have a great deal of printing work on hand I stand in need of a large supply immediately, therefore be pleased to order the 50 Pounds the man has already made to be directly forwarded and desire him to make one hundred pounds more besides all which I beg favor of you to procure as much as you can of the Ink expected from London to carry on my edition of Lord Chesterfield's Letters.[11] As the Non-importation and other measures concerted for the relief of america at the Continental Congress will immediately take effect, I hope you will be able to procure a purchaser that will give 20 *s.* N York Currency per lb. at which rate please to sell it if you can get no better price. I thank you heartily for the newspaper you sent.

The Lottery in which you had Six Tickets was not drawn occasioned by a number of the Tickets being destroyed in a fire of one of the managers houses and the immediate operation of an act of our Legislature against all Lotteries.

My very humble respects wait on Mrs. Knox. I am, Sir, Your most obed. Sert.

JA. RIVINGTON.

FROM JAMES RIVINGTON

N. YORK, Decr. 1, 1774.

Sent to Mr. HENRY KNOX.

By JAMES RIVINGTON

300 Other side [of] the question[12] in answer to the Friendly address[13] at 9 *d,* each sold for 1 *s.* 11. 5 0.

SIR, — The above are committed to the care of my friend Mr. Bates, Purser of the *Swan,* Man of War which will sail for your port tomorrow. The friendly address I do not send to you for fear of hurting your interest, it was forwarded to me by Mills & Hicks[14]

[11] Printed in four volumes in 1775 by Rivington and Hugh Gaine.

[12] By Philip Livingston.

[13] By Myles Cooper.

[14] "In the Press, and speedily will be published by MILLS and HICKS, A Friendly Address to all reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our

to be printed, my reasons for not troubling you with these very warm, high seasoned pamphlets, is that your very numerous friends, on the patriot Interest, may be greatly disgusted at your distributing them, but if you are not so very nice as I apprehend from the state of your interest &c and are willing to have these sort of articles I will secure them for you from time to time. A piece is printing, in the Hudibrastic stile which will sell but I greatly fear you will not like.[15] I should send it to you, Pray explain yourself on this head directly, for I mean to shew every expresssion of my attention to you. My Compliments wait on Mrs. Knox and I am, Dear Sir, Your most obed. Servt.

JA. RIVINGTON.

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political Confusion: In which the necessary Consequences of violently opposing the King's Troops, and of a General Non-importation are fairly stated. "*Massachusetts Gazette,* Nov. 17, 1774. Why the piece should have been sent by Cooper or an agent to Boston printers, when Rivington had already served him, is not explained in the letters. The Boston issue has on the title "America: Printed for the Purchasers," though Evans assigns it to Rivington. The New York edition is a line for line reprint of the Boston, with a few typographical errors, but is in another font of type and the page is one em narrower.

[15] *The Association, &c.,* by Bob Jingle, Poet Laureat to the Congress, which was offered in Boston by Cox and Berry. *Massachusetts Gazette,* Dec. 22, 1774.

Exch^{d} £80 Sterl^{g}

Boston Decem^{r} 12: 1771

Gent^{n} At thirty days Sight of this my third Bill
(First & Second of same Tenor & date unpaid) please to pay
to M^{r} Henry Knox or order Eighty pounds Sterling, Value
Rec^{d}, which Charge to my Acc^{t} with or without further
Advice from

Gent^{n}

Your most humble Serv^{t}
John Hancock

To
Messrs Hayley & Hopkins
Merch^{ts}
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